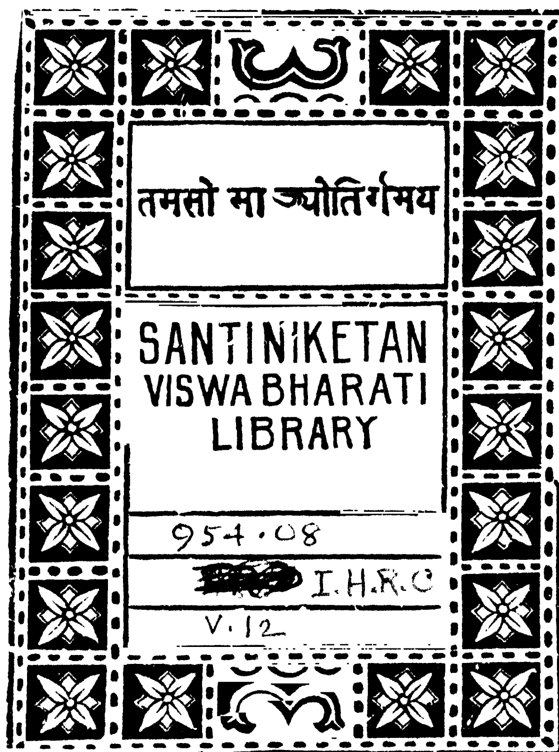


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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS

OF

MEETINGS

VOL. XII

TWELFTH MEETING HELD AT GWALIOR

December 1929



CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

GWALIOR SESSION

1929



Chairs left to right—Dr Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Mr Ramsbotham, Mrs Crofton, Mr Rawlinson, Mrs Rawlinson, Resident at Gwalior, Lady Noyce, His Highness Maharaja Sindhia, Sir Frank Noyce, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Mr Abdul Ali, Rani Rajwade, Mr G. S. Sardesai, Mrs Kibe.

Proceedings of the Twelfth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Gwalior on the 21st and 22nd December 1929.

The twelfth public meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Jinsi Building, Gwalior, on the 21st of December 1929, before a large and distinguished gathering. This was the first time that a session of the Commission was held in an Indian State. An exhibition of documents seals, coins, paintings and other objects of historical interest, obtained from Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private individuals, was held in the spacious rooms of the Jinsi Building, in connection with the meeting. The proceedings were opened with a message of welcome from Her Highness the Senior Maharani Sahiba, President of the Council of Regency, Gwalior State, which was read by Shrimant Sadasiv Rao Khase Sahib Pawar, Home Member of the Gwalior Government. Sir Frank Noyce, Kt., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, and *ex-officio* President of the Commission, presided over the meeting. Besides the Hyderabad and Baroda Darbars, several of the Indian States in Central India and Rajputana and the Universities in India were represented at this session; and among the co-opted members there were many distinguished scholars from various parts of India. A special feature of the meeting was the co-option of ladies, namely, Srimati Kamalabai Kibe of Indore and Rani Luxmibai Rajwade of Gwalior as members of the Commission. The session at Gwalior marked the commencement of a new and more fruitful era as it opened the door for closer co-operation between the Indian States and British India in furthering the cause of historical research. Altogether this session of the Commission was an unqualified success and in his speech on the occasion of the opening of the tenth session of the Chamber of Princes at New Delhi on the 25th February 1930, His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to refer to this event in the following terms:—

"In December last the Indian Historical Records Commission held a session at Gwalior to which certain other states sent representatives as co-opted members. The interest thus evinced in India's history by the descendants of those who have in the past played an important part in its making, is of the utmost value. There is still much room for historical research and I believe I am right in saying that the archives of many states contain a wealth of documents of historical interest which still remain to be explored.

No nation can afford to ignore the story of its past. No people can properly develop without a knowledge of the factors which have gone to make them what they are. The great men of India have been primarily soldiers, law-givers, philosophers and men whose saintly lives have won them a place of honour in the regard of their compatriots. Indigenous literature and the arts which have hitherto reached their highest levels under the stimulus of kingly and princely patronage have, in more recent times, received less attention than formerly under the pressure of those influences which are continually operating in the progress of civilisation. This is now being recognised and patrons of the arts are more numerous than before.

There can be few better ways in which Indian Princes and the leaders of Indian society and opinion can contribute to her future than by cultivating and assisting the arts of peace which constitute so formative an influence upon national character."

* * * * *

The following members were present:—

1. Sir Frank Noyce, Kt., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands (President).
2. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., Calcutta.
3. Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona.
4. Mr G. S. Sardesai, B.A., Poona.

*5. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., D.Litt., M.L.C., Professor of Modern Indian History, Allahabad University, Allahabad.

6. Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., B.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., I.E.S., Principal, Chittagong College, Chittagong (attended the meeting in place of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal).
7. Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A. (Secretary).

The following co-opted members, including the representatives of Indian States and Universities, were present:—

1. Shrimant Sadasiv Rao Khase Sáhib Pawar, Home Mémber of the Gwalior Government.
2. Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, M.A., Deputy Prime Minister, Indore.
3. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore.

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* Appointed in place of Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, whose term expired in August 1929.

4. Rani Luxmibai Rajwade, Gwalior.

5. Sardar Madhab Rao Babasahib Phalke, Gwalior.

6. Dr Y. G. Apte, Finance Secretary, Gwalior Government, Gwalior.

7. Mr S. R. Bhagwat, Inspector General of Records, Gwalior State, Gwalior.

8. Mr S. Gaur, Special Officer, Records, Gwalior State, Gwalior.

9. Mr M. B. Garde, B.A., Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.

10. Capt. C. V. Modak, Assistant Adjutant General, Gwalior Army, Gwalior.

11. Mr S. R. Tambe, Registrar, Education Department, Gwalior State, Gwalior.

12. Professor A. Saquib, Victoria College, Gwalior.

13. Mr V. S. Phatarphekar, B.A., Gwalior.

14. Mr G. B. Makoday, Secretary to the Local Committee, Indian Historical Records Commission, Gwalior.

15. Mons. A. Balasubramanium Pillai, Pondicherry (Representative of the French Government in India).

Representatives of Indian States:

16. Mr S. Khursheed Ali, Director, Daftar-i-Diwani and Mal, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government (Hyderabad).

17. Mr C. V. Joshi, M.A., Rajdaftardar, Baroda.

18. Pandit Bissesswar Nath Reu, Officer in Charge, Archæological Dept., Jodhpur.

19. Pandit Dasarath Sarma, M.A., Professor of History, Dungar College, Bikaner.

20. Pandit Ramdin Parasar, History Department, Kishengarh.

21. Munshi Fateh Lal, Partabgarh.

22. Mr V. V. Thakur, B.A., Special Officer, Indore.

23. Pandit S. K. Oka, Dhar.

24. Dr S. R. Oka, L.M. and S., Dewas, Jr Br.

25. Khan Bahadur D. F. Vakil, Home Member, State Council, Ratlam.

26. Mr K. A. Nilkantha Sastri, M.A., Professor of History and Archæology, Madras University.
27. Mr B. R. Kumar, M.A., Reader in History, Annamalai University.
28. Shams-ul Ulama Kamaluddin Ahmad, M.A., I.E.S., Calcutta University.
29. Dr R. C. Majumdar, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Head of the History Department, Dacca University.
30. Dr Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History, Lucknow University.
31. Mr J. C. Talukdar, M.A., Professor of History, St. John's College, Agra, Agra University.
32. Mr S. K. Sen, M.A., Principal, Hindu College, Delhi, Delhi University.
33. Mr S. N. Bhattacharyya, M.A., University Professor of Modern History, Benares Hindu University.
34. Mr Md Habeeb, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Professor of History and Political Sciences, Aligarh Muslim University.
35. Mr H. K. Sherwani, M.A., Osmania University, Hyderabad.

(Nos. 26–35:) Representatives of Indian Universities.

36. The Hon'ble Mr Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S., Patna.
37. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.
38. Mr R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., Member of the Council of the Calcutta Historical Society, Calcutta.
39. Mr Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S., Member of the Council of the Calcutta Historical Society, Calcutta.
40. Rao Bahadur Dr S. K. Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Madras.
41. Mr C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.
42. Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., Lecturer in History, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry.
43. The Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
44. Mr D. V. Potdar, B.A., Professor of History, Sir Parashram Bhau College, Poona.

45. Mr C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B., Poona.
46. Dr Balkrishna, M.A., PhD., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
47. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, Advocate, High Court, and President, Punjab Historical Society, Lahore.
48. Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., Lecturer in History, Government College, Lahore.
49. Mr R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Jubbulpore.
50. Mr Y. M. Kale, M.L.C., Buldana.
51. M. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., Yeotmal.
52. Mr S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, Assam.

The following members of the Commission were unavoidably absent:—

1. Mr A. V. Venkatarama Ayyar, M.A., Curator, Madras Record Office.
2. Mr H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.

Precisely at 11 a.m. the President, Sir Frank Noyce, took the chair and called upon the Home Member of the Gwalior Government to address the meeting.

Speech of the Home Member of the Gwalior Government.

MR PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of Her Highness the Senior Maharani Sahiba Sindhia, President of the Council, and the Council I feel great pleasure in welcoming you to Gwalior, the Capital of that illustrious family of Rulers, who figured so prominently in the past and helped to make Indian History in several momentous epochs. We have to-day gathered together in a place, rich with historical associations, that can never be forgotten. I hope that you will feel that all the worry and trouble attendant upon your long journey have been amply compensated by the pilgrimage to this historic place.

On occasions like the present, one is naturally put in mind of those whom one respects, admires and loves. Picturing to myself the towering personality of His late Highness Madhav Rao Maharaja Sindhia extending a cordial reception to you, I stand before you to welcome you on behalf of the Gwalior Darbar with a crushing sense of 'a vacant chair', a gap no attempts on my part can ever fill up. His presence would have been a source of inspiration and you would have taken back sweet memories of the session at Gwalior. Nevertheless, I hope your stay will be happy. The Darbar will spare no pains to make the session as great a success as possible.

2. I am thankful to the Government of India for kindly assenting to our proposal of holding the Session of the Historical Records Commission at Gwalior this year. I feel there is a particular significance in the arrival of the Commission here. It is not too much to say that Gwalior has left an indelible mark on the annals of the whole Empire from the Capital of India in the North to its Capital in the South, and this influence Gwalior exercised not only since the entry of the Marathas in the Northern theatre but long before they were known to History. Gwalior, so rich in art and architecture, has got standing witnesses in the form of its monuments and mausoleums, its architecture and sculpture, testifying to the vicissitudes through which the Empire has passed from time to time and marking the stages of civilisation India has been able to evolve. A visit to the Fort and its suburbs and a glance at the work which the Archæological Department of the State has turned out, will convince even the most casual observer of the historical and cultural wealth of Gwalior.

3. We have thus gathered in the midst of the charms of the Muse of History. I need hardly emphasize the importance of Gwalior for the research worker. When you move round the city and see for yourself the marks that have survived the destructive stroke of time, you will, I am sure, be convinced of the rich field that awaits the labours of a scholar of history. If research operations are properly conducted, I am sure, new materials would be discovered which would throw a flood of light on obscure corners of our past annals and many a missing link may be supplied. I, therefore, invite the earnest attention of the Commission to the work that awaits them in this part of the Country.

4. Speaking with special reference to the records of the Sindhia House so far available, I am afraid, the materials are rather scanty. The three first generations of the Sindhia dynasty had their own problems to solve and lived in troublous times. They were too much engrossed in their own affairs to be able to pay any attention to the preservation of records and the plain, blunt and rugged manner of their life, so characteristic of the early Marathas, was hardly suited to the pursuit of such a task. Truth to say, the historic instinct had not been sufficiently awakened in them for want of peace and leisure for literary pursuits. I am not speaking in derogation of the Marathas. They were engaged in bringing to fruition the ' increasing purpose ' of their special mission, so aptly summed up by Samarth Ramdas in the two words *Maharashtra Dharma* for which their hero, the great Shivaji, " lived and died as none could live or die." For reasons just stated nothing was done to preserve its records on modern lines till His late Highness Maharaja Madhav Rao Sindhia assumed the administration of the State. The confused condition of records could not escape the penetrating gaze of that all-pervading Genius and he was the first to organise the Department of Records. With a prophetic vision he foresaw, decades ahead, the coming movement of historic research and undertook the spadework, opening the

Archæological Department, which was followed by the institution of the Records Department, thus smoothing the path for the coming research worker. But the absence of Historical Records at Gwalior need not disappoint us. The impression of the finger of Gwalior might be perceived from Bengal to the Punjab in the North, Rajputana and Gujerat in the West, the Bombay Presidency in the South and Nagpur and Orissa in the East. Records of the Gwalior Rulers may, therefore, be found scattered all over the country. They will have to be sought mainly at Delhi, Agra, Kotah, Calcutta, Poona, as also in most of the Rajputana States. The task is so huge that a body such as the Historical Records Commission alone is competent to handle it properly.

5. The Indian Nation is at present in the throes of a new birth in which all the different sections are expected to contribute the best that they can bring out from their past. Hence there is the great necessity of research work at the present moment. But such an important study pre-supposes plentiful original material pertaining to all the communities and languages of the past and a central place where facilities for study could be provided. A critical study of Indian History is only just beginning and deserves to be fostered by the Universities and other public bodies. Madras, Calcutta and Maharashtra have already pushed on all-sided research in India's past History. But I am afraid Northern India is yet lagging behind, owing to various causes. Malwa, Bundelkhand, Rajputana and the United Provinces are all full of original materials which need to be collected and studied in some central place. The visit of this august body, *viz.*, the Historical Records Commission, for the first time to an Indian State will, I hope, create the necessary interest in future in Historical research and will indirectly prove that so far as interests of history are concerned, the Indian States have much to contribute towards the study of history in which Gwalior would like to do its part for the common object of Indian history.

In view of these observations, the Commission may, perhaps, think of instituting branches of Research Societies in North India with their centre at Gwalior, working on the lines of those in the South. Such a movement seems to me to be pregnant with great issues. Perhaps, the paucity of workers may be considered as a deterrent in this connection. But in recent times wide interest in research work has been sufficiently awakened to warrant the institution of such societies. The Historical Records Commission has itself done much by its sittings at various places to merit the thanks of persons interested in history, and perhaps no dearth of workers will be felt now.

6. I would now pass on to an important branch of the study of history. *Farmans* and *Sanads* in the possession of individuals have their own significance in the construction of History. If a genuine *sanad* may illuminate doubtful points of history, counterfeit *sanads* may distort it. A proper scrutiny of *sanads* has thus its own importance like the proper deciphering

of inscriptions. But little attention seems to have been paid to this branch of study. It is often very difficult to distinguish a genuine *sanad* from a counterfeit one in the absence of standardised formulæ of judging them. I believe a close and comparative study of a number of *sanads* belonging to different periods and different dynasties may help the research worker to formulate certain rules about judging their genuineness. It is necessary to find out essential features common to all *sanads* without which their genuineness may fairly be questioned. The Non-essentials cannot also be ignored. For this purpose the *sanads* may be divided into three periods (1) Pre-Maratha period, (2) Maratha period and (3) Modern period; the last roughly dating from the commencement of the 19th century. It is not unlikely that certain features common to all *sanads* might be discovered. There may be others also peculiar to certain divisions of time and place only. Peculiarities may also be observed in the case of certain Rulers and States. I think a pretty good science may be evolved, dividing, defining, labelling them.

7. Every Government acts through agents, and the families of old Ministers of State, Generals and Diplomats in every country often possess contemporary letters, diaries and account-books which illustrate the careers of their great ancestors and throw valuable light on the history of the State they served and the economic conditions of the times they lived in. Thus, the family archives of the historical noble families of England have made very important contributions to English history and supplied gaps in the State papers possessed by Government.

In Central India, the need of searching such family records for historical materials is still stronger, in view of the recent origin and incomplete condition of our Government record collections. I appeal to the ancient Jagirdar families of the State and to all private persons who may possess historical records, bearing on the past of the land we live in, to report the fact to the Central Record Office at Gwalior and to any historical society that may be founded for Malwa on the lines suggested by me, and to allow us to preserve the originals or at least copies of them, so that research workers may find all their materials at one place. This is a patriotic task in which every one of us, living even in obscure places, may render some assistance.

8. I would draw your attention to one more point before I conclude. Time has now come when the research worker should widen his outlook and instead of confining himself to the study of Political events alone, should extend his vision so as to include all aspects of man, social, religious, economical, etc., in his study. History, in its proper sense, should present the whole civilisation evolved from past events, dealing with social manners and customs, religious problems and dogmas, philosophical speculations and propositions, economical and industrial developments, political aspirations, doubts and fears entertained from time to time by the races comprised in the Nation. It would, for instance, not only be interesting but also instructive to

trace the present communal tension to its origin in the past and find out if it is a disease ingrained in the body politic itself or is merely a surface growth of modern times super-imposed by interested parties. Such a study of history might not only illuminate the past but would also clear up the path for all-sided reform. If the present is the outcome of the accumulated past, the future would grow out of the present. I am conscious of the many influences at work, counteracting the attempts of man and the limitations with which he is circumscribed. And yet, I believe that while, on the one hand, man is the creature of his times, he is also their creator on the other. Viewed from this stand-point, history would be a more useful science, if the present angle of vision is changed and its range is broadened. Our research, therefore, should include all the movements now afoot in the country. The question of the untouchables, communal troubles, social iniquities, in fact, all aspects of life of the Nation deserve our attention and research work should be directed accordingly.

9. To sum up, I have placed the following questions before the Commission for their consideration :—

(1) Search of the records of the Rulers of Gwalior at different places.

(2) Institution of Historical Research Societies in North India with their centre at Gwalior.

(3) Study of *Sanads* and *Farmans*.

(4) Change in the angle of vision and the broadening of the range of research work.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to say that it was the lifework of His late Highness the Maharaja Sindhia to bring about a harmonious fusion of all the civilisations represented by the different creeds and communities of India. Research work in history, if conducted in a scientific spirit, would be a powerful incentive towards this fusion of the various discordant elements in the Nation into a homogeneous whole. All our prejudices have to be shaken off before we can approach the pure and ennobling atmosphere with which the study of History is invested. No sex disabilities can darken it; no communal bias can taint it. Man and woman, Hindu and Muhammadan, Christian and Jew, all can join hands in a spirit of true brotherhood. The work, we have set before ourselves, will not only lift the curtain over the past but will also prove a seminary for the training and much-needed discipline for true citizenship.

With these remarks, I once more welcome you to Gwalior and hope your stay here will be happy and " we shall this day light such a lamp in the country as shall never be put out ".

Speech of Sir Frank Noyce.

Sir Frank Noyce in thanking the Gwalior Durbar on behalf of the Commission said:—

MR PAWAR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

It is my privilege on behalf of myself and my fellow members of the Historical Records Commission to tender our most cordial and grateful thanks to the Gwalior Durbar for the magnificent welcome they have accorded the Commission. We have also especially to thank you, Mr Pawar, for the most valuable and stimulating address to which we have just had the pleasure of listening. I should like, if I may, to associate the Commission with the eloquent tribute you have paid to the memory of His Highness the late Maharaja. We cannot but feel with you how much his presence with us would have added to the dignity and importance of our meeting. You will, I think, agree with me that had it not been for him, we should not be here to-day, for had the State been without the Departments of Archæology and of Records, which he instituted, the Durbar would probably have felt some hesitation in asking this Commission to assemble at Gwalior. The institution of these two Departments was, as you have pointed out, only one of the Maharaja's many-sided activities. In Indian historical records of the future there will be few brighter pages than those devoted to recording the good work he did for his State and for India.

I have been deeply interested in the work of this Commission ever since it was established. It was, therefore, no news to me when I took charge of the Secretaryship to the Government of India in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, that by so doing I became its *ex-officio* President. It was also no news to me that since 1922 none of my predecessors has been able to preside over its deliberations. Pressure of work has kept them away. They have been too busy compiling the historical records of the future—those notes and drafts which our successors on this Commission may or may not in course of time make strenuous efforts to save from the damp, the heat and the white-ant—to attend to the records of the past. I know how valid has been that excuse for absence but I do not think that their preoccupations at Delhi have been the sole reason for it. I am certain that they have also been kept away by the diffidence the layman naturally feels when he is called upon to preside over the deliberations of a Committee of experts. They felt that the guidance of the proceedings of the Commission could very safely be left in the hands of one of its members, to distinguished scholars such as Professor Rushbrook Williams, Sir Evan Cotton, Professor Rawlinson and Sir Jadunath Sarkar. And here I may be pardoned for a digression. I am sure my colleagues on the Commission would like me to take this, the first public opportunity we have had, of congratulating Sir Jadunath on the honour conferred upon him by His Majesty the King Emperor in the last Honour's

list. Sir Jadunath has shown that India can produce historians worthy to rank with the greatest names of the West. He has shown that it is possible to combine wide and deep scholarship with literary grace. He has shown that history should, as Mr Pawar has pointed out, deal not only with dynastic wars and internecine feuds but with the economic and social life of the nation. I speak of what I know, for one of Sir Jadunath's books has been by my bedside for months. I hasten to add that it has not been the same one all the time! The recognition of Sir Jadunath's work has afforded the Commission special gratification as he is, I think, the only member of it who has been a member since it was constituted.

I share the feeling of my predecessors that there are many members of the Commission to-day who could fill the President's Chair far more ably than the Secretary in the Department can hope to do. But it seemed to me, and when I placed the matter before the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Habibullah, he cordially agreed with me, that it was my obvious duty—and in this case duty entirely coincided with inclination—to preside at the first meeting of the Commission which has been held in an Indian State and thereby to show the great appreciation both of the Government of India and of the Commission itself of the honour the Gwalior Durbar has done us by asking us to meet here. No more appropriate setting for the meeting of this Commission could have been desired than this ancient and beautiful city with its wealth of historical associations. We have indeed met in a place in which history has been made and where the theatre has been entirely worthy of the dramas enacted in it.

On an occasion such as this it is customary to say something about the work of the Historical Records Commission. It is perhaps specially desirable that I should do so to-day when I have, I think, the privilege of addressing a much larger audience than did most of my predecessors. This is the 12th meeting of the Commission, which was constituted in 1919, in order that it might advise as to the best methods of co-ordinating the work done by the Government of India, by Local Governments and by Indian States in preserving their records and in making them more accessible to the public in general and to research workers in particular. Of the value of the work the Commission has done in this advisory capacity, the state of our record rooms to-day as compared with that which existed when the Commission came into being bears ample testimony.

But the advisory work of the Commission, important as it is, has become only part of its activities. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar aptly said at Nagpur last year, from a small and purely advisory body of experts it has become a large and elastic band of explorers and collectors. The Government records, with the task of preserving which it was originally entrusted, form a much smaller part of the historical material available to students than they did ten years ago, for through the stimulus provided by the Commission's discussions, by the papers communicated to it and perhaps more than anything

else by the exhibitions it has organised, in conjunction with its meetings, one of which, I may remind, is kindly being opened by H. H. the Maharaja this afternoon, private records have been tempted from their hiding places in increasing numbers and made available to scholars. Amongst my multifarious activities is that of general supervision of the Imperial Secretariat Library, and, in pursuance of this task, I study publishers' lists with some care. One feature in these lists is very noticeable. It is the way in which the output of really valuable works on Indian history is steadily increasing. That also is due, I am certain, in no small measure to the existence of this Commission, the members of which have set a noble example in that respect. Even I have made my own very humble contribution in the shape of an essay on the relations of the British Empire in India with Afghanistan, with which I won a prize at Cambridge some 30 years ago. I am thinking in all seriousness of suggesting to our Secretary that to the next report of our proceedings should be added a bibliography of the published works of our members.[1]

It is specially fitting that I should say something to-day about the connection of the Commission with Indian States of which this meeting represents the culmination. The importance of enlisting their interest in the work of the Commission was recognised at the outset and at its very first meeting a resolution seeking their co-operation was passed. The States of Baroda, Gwalior and Indore were requested to send representatives to future meetings. Baroda and Indore responded—Gwalior did not—but you will agree that it has since rectified the omission in a most princely way and at the second meeting the representatives of those States submitted notes which were much appreciated and which showed the work which has been done on their records. The note from Baroda also showed that the invitation to the Durbar had resulted in the appointment of a committee to do for the State work similar to that done by this Commission for British India. Baroda was represented at the third meeting, Baroda and Indore at the fourth, at which a resolution was passed recommending to the Government of India the desirability of requesting the Indian States to inform the Commission about the nature, date and extent of the historical material prior to 1850 in their respective archives, and also to ask them whether they needed any expert help in sifting, preserving and publishing their records. This resolution was only communicated to the Durbars of Baroda and Indore, but at the 5th meeting a further resolution was passed requesting that it should be circulated to all the Ruling Princes and Chiefs. As a result of this and of a resolution passed at the Commission's sixth meeting, which was that deputations to the Indian States for the examination of State records should not be confined to the members of the Commission and that an enquiry should be made of the Kolhapur and Kapurthala States as to the nature of their records, much useful information was elicited from some States about the

[1] A bibliography of the works published by the present members of the Commission is given in App. D.

character of their records and the manner in which they were kept. At last year's meeting, the question of deputation of the members of the Commission to Indian States was raised but the Commission decided that it would not move in the matter but would be prepared to consider the case of any particular State which might desire to have its record rooms inspected by members of the Commission or to seek the advice of the Commission on matters relating to the treatment of the official records of the States. In addition to representatives from Baroda and Indore, we have had at one or other of our recent meetings representatives from Hyderabad, Kolhapur, Benares and Rampur. That is how matters stand at present. I should perhaps add that at the request of the Jaipur Durbar, members of the staff of the repairing section of the Imperial Record Department have been deputed to teach the art of mending old and dilapidated records. His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government has recently asked for the loan of officers for the same purpose. The Raj Daftardar of Baroda has visited the Imperial Record Department specially to learn this art and his librarian is still under training there. I think what I have said shows that there is increasing co-operation between the States and British India in furthering the cause of historical research and I have no doubt whatever that our meeting here to-day marks the commencement of a new and much more fruitful era in this respect. That meeting is a landmark in our history. There is another landmark, which I should be failing in chivalry if I did not mention. This is the first occasion on which ladies have been co-opted as members of our body. I cannot but regard this as a most happy coincidence in view of the deep interest which Her Highness the Senior Maharani has been good enough to evince in our deliberations.

There has been one change in the personnel of the Commission to which I should refer. Mr Ramsbotham's term of office as a permanent member came to an end during the last year and he has been replaced by Dr Shafaat Ahmad Khan, from the United Provinces. It was felt that our membership being limited, we ought to vary it as occasion offered. Mr Ramsbotham has done most valuable work on the Commission, and I am glad that he is with us to-day though in a different capacity. I also have great pleasure in welcoming Dr Shafaat Ahmad Khan, who will, I am sure, be as great a source of strength to us as was his predecessor. One distinguished scholar has succeeded another.

A few words more, and I have done. There is much in the address which Mr Pawar has given us which raises most interesting trains of thought but time will not permit me to enlarge upon them. I can only assure you, Sir, that the questions you have placed before us will receive our most careful consideration. I must once again tell you, and through you the Durbar, how greatly we have been moved by the warmth of our welcome here. We shall carry away with us the most pleasant recollections of our all too short stay. To my fellow members of the Historical Records Commission I have

a message to deliver from the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Habibullah. It is that the Government of India deeply appreciate their unremitting, unostentatious and wholly disinterested labours in the cause of historical research. They will, I am sure, desire me to end by paying a tribute to our indefatigable Secretary, Mr Abdul Ali.

The business of the meeting commenced with the reading of a paper by Mr H. G. Rawlinson, Principal, Deccan College, Poona, on the "Two captures of the Fort of Gwalior". The remaining papers or their summaries were then read. There was an interval for lunch from 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. Before the conclusion of the meeting, Mr S. R. Bhagwat, Inspector General of Records, Gwalior State, moved a vote of thanks to the chair and the members of the Commission on behalf of the Gwalior Durbar. The motion was seconded by Sardar Madhav Rao Babasahib Phalke and carried unanimously. Sir Jadunath Sarkar proposed and Mr Rawlinson seconded a vote of thanks to the Gwalior Durbar, the co-opted members from Gwalior, and the Local Committee appointed by the Durbar, for the valuable assistance rendered by them to the Commission. The meeting lasted till 4 p.m.

The Historical Exhibition organized in connection with the Gwalior session of the Commission was informally opened by His Highness Maharaja Sindhia Alijah Bahadur at 4-30 p.m. on the same day in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. His Highness, on arrival, was photographed with the permanent and co-opted members of the Commission. The exhibits came from Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private individuals and fully represented the history of India. The Buddhist and Hindu periods were represented by beautiful reproductions of the Bagh paintings and several sets of copper plates. There were also numerous rubbings of stone inscriptions, palm leaf manuscripts, coins and other objects of historical interest. The Muhammadan and the Maratha periods were represented by *farmans*, letters, coins and weapons, some of which were unique and of profound interest to students of historical research. In addition to these there was a good collection of historical paintings. A complete list of the exhibits will be found in App. F.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and Lady Birdwood visited the Exhibition and evinced special interest in the old arms exhibited by the Gwalior Durbar.

The Exhibition proved to be a great success and in response to numerous requests from the public, it was kept open for a week, special days being reserved for Her Highness the Maharani Sahiba and for ladies.

On the afternoon of the 21st December, the members of the Commission were entertained at an "At Home" by the members of the Elgin Club at the Club premises. On the same night Sardar Sir Appaji Rao Sitole, Vice-

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

TWELFTH SESSION, GWALIOR, 1929

VISIT TO THE JAIVILAS PALACE



President of the Council of Regency, Gwalior State, gave a dinner in honour of the Commission. On the morning of the 22nd December the members were taken round Gwalior and in the course of their excursion they visited the tombs of the Muhammadan saint Muhammad Ghaus and Tansen, the "Orpheus" of India, and the Fort of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior. The members also paid a visit to the Gwalior State Record Rooms. On the same day the business meeting of the Commission was held in the Council Hall, Moti Mahal, from 11-30 a.m. to 2 p.m. After lunch the members visited the Jaibilas Palace. In the afternoon His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia Alijah Bahadur gave an "At Home" at the Archæological Museum in honour of the Commission. H. E. the Commander-in-chief and the English Public School boys who were touring India also attended this function. The Gwalior Sardars and Jagirdars' Association entertained the President and members of the Commission on the same night at a Banquet at the Grand Hotel which was attended by the elite of Gwalior and was a huge success.

On the morning of the 23rd December the members of the Commission were invited to witness the Review of the Gwalior State Forces in the presence of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief. They were afterwards photographed with H. H. the Maharaja Sindhia in the grounds of the Jaibilas Palace.

The House of Jaipur.

(By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., M.A.)

No Scottish laird devoted himself with his retainers to the extension of his family estates by lifelong service abroad in the cause of the British empire, with more absorbing zeal and singleness of purpose than did the Kachhwa princes of Amber (Jaipur).

In the long roll of great men of action and enterprise which this family has produced three names stand out pre-eminent: Man Singh (died in 1613), Mirza Rajah Jai Singh (died in 1667), and Sawai Jai Singh (died in 1743). The deeds of Man Singh fill the latter years of Akbar's reign and the first eight years of his successor's, and range from Kabul to Orissa, and the Panjab to the Deccan. Col. Tod has very briefly passed over them, merely remarking, 'An account of the life of Rajah Man would fill a volume; there are ample materials at Jaipur.' This last, I regret to notice, is not the case at present, but Man Singh's biography can be easily compiled from the *Akbarnamah* and the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.

Mirza Rajah Jai Singh occupied the *gadi* of Amber for fifty eventful years (1617-1667), and fought under the Mughal banners from Balkh in Central Asia to Bijapur in the Deccan, from Qandahar on the Persian fron-

tier to Mungir in Eastern Bihar. His life was one of extraordinarily strenuous and varied activity. From the age of twelve he was continuously engaged in fighting battles or administering provinces for the Emperor, with furlough home only once in four or five years. [*Masir-ul-umara, iii.*] Indeed, "hardly a year passed in the long reign of Shah Jahan and the first decade of his son's regime when this Rajput chieftain did not see active service somewhere and receive some promotion for conspicuous merit. . . In diplomacy he attained a success surpassing even his victories in the field. A man of infinite tact and patience, an adept in the ceremonious courtesy of the Muslims, a master of the Turki and Persian languages besides Urdu and the Rajput dialect, Jai Singh was an ideal leader of the composite army of Afghans and Turks, Rajputs and Hindustanis, that followed the crescent banner of the sovereign of Delhi."

And yet he has not found a historian, though his biography would be a most valuable contribution to 17th century Indian history. But, happily rich materials for such a biography exist, though mostly outside the Jaipur archives. The most important of these is the letter-book of his secretary Udairaj, entitled *Haft Anjuman*, of which a fragment is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and a complete copy has been secured by me in India. The letters which Jai Singh sent out are to be found in the above collection and in a few other Persian MSS. Only a few of these exist among the Jaipur Darbar records.

As for the letters written to Jai Singh by the Mughal Emperors and princes, many of them are preserved in the original at Jaipur. They, however, mostly deal with his earlier career and the campaign against Shuja. Several others of great importance (such as those concerning the pursuit of Dara and the campaign against Shivaji), which are wanting here, have been preserved at Paris. The standard Persian histories of the Mughal Emperors supply the missing links and enable us to complete the record of the Rajah's services. A complete set of the letters to and from Jai Singh has been collected by me from various places. It contains valuable historical records of this period and ought to be printed.

Among these records the *Haft Anjuman* is the most important, as it contains Jai Singh's despatches to Aurangzib and his official letters to Court nobles, to his subordinates and to the Deccani nobles whom he wanted to win over. It contains besides some letters of surpassing human interest, namely, the private letters of Jai Singh to his son Ram Singh and his agent at the imperial Court, Giridhari Lal, in his last days when with his grand success against Shivaji undone by Aurangzib's ill-conceived and unsuccessful attempt to hold the Maratha king as a prisoner during his visit to Agra and with his brilliant career ending in disgrace and loss by reason of his failure to take Bijapur, he was hastening to his grave. These private letters unfold to us the aged Rajah's lifelong ambition to elevate his family,

his mortification at his son Ram Singh's indifference, and the Emperor's ingratitude,—as the following two will illustrate:—

Jai Singh to Kumar Ram Singh at Delhi (1666)—

[After urging him to see the Emperor and induce him not to remove Jai Singh from the Deccan command as he had done the difficult preliminary work and borne all the cost of it, while the noble who would now replace him would cheaply take all the credit of the success without having to exert himself for it, and Jai Singh would be unjustly branded before the public as a failure, after his lifelong distinguished service.]

"The greater part of my life is over, and little remains, and that little has now almost reached its terminus. I seek refuge with my *pir* and *murshid* (*i.e.*, the Emperor) to escape from shame in my old age. At the end of my days I am suffering disgrace." [Folio 195].

Jai Singh to Kumar Ram Singh (a letter in cypher)—

"In whatever action, great or small, I do, I, keeping your interests in view, bring you in [as my intermediary at the imperial Court]. And yet, your attitude is such that at the time when my urgent requests in connection with the Emperor's work are written to you, you go out to hunt and do not send any reply; and when your reply comes, which is very late, you do not touch all the points of my letter. If you are forgetful of my relationship as your father, at least the duty of acting as my Court agent is incumbent on you. If our master asks, 'When did this letter from Jai Singh arrive? and on what date have you placed it before me?'—*you* will have to answer. If you do not care for either of these two things, do as you please; Shri Ramji is over *my* head: *Bar sar-i-ma ham sri Ramji-st.*" [F. 196].

Jai Singh to Giridhari Lal, his wakil.—"Strange times have become my lot. Every man labours so much only for his sons, and yet he (*i.e.*, Kumar Ram Singh) does not write anything to me, and the only thing that he writes is, 'I have got no information on this point.' In four ways losses have fallen upon me—First, my *mujra* is gone; secondly, the parganas of my home (*watan*) are gone; thirdly, what I have spent [out of my own pocket] in the Deccan wars is gone; and fourthly,—what is worst of all—my son's affairs have been ruined. Although these considerations do not reach his mind from my writing, yet I cannot help apprehending these misfortunes.

He (*i.e.*, Ram Singh) does not give me news of the happenings and sayings at the Emperor's Court [concerning us]. Send me news—what is anywhere said about me? Have my exertions in controlling the affairs of these subahs in such times been reported to the Emperor or not? What has His Majesty remarked about me? Write all in detail." [Folio 199.]

As for Sawai Jai Singh, who occupied the *gadi* of Jaipur from 1699 to 1743, his influence on history was even greater than that of the Mirza Rajah (his great-grandfather), as he occupied a pivotal position during the 20

years (1720-1740) when the Marathas sapped the foundations of the Mughal empire and his action decided the result. Of him Tod writes—

"As a statesman, legislator, and man of science, the character of Sawai Jai Singh is worthy of an ample delineation, which would correct our [too low] opinion of the genius and capacity of the princes of Rajputana . . . . . For such a sketch, the materials of the Amber Court are abundant . . . ., *e.g.*, the *Kalpa-drum* or miscellaneous diary, and the *109 guna Jai Singh Ka*."

But Court biographies and bardic eulogies are not records. The scientific historian requires State-papers and contemporary official letters and diaries. Of such documents relating to Sawai Jai Singh's times the Jaipur archives have as yet yielded a poor harvest. A thorough search should be made among the papers belonging to the private families in the kingdom, particularly among the descendants of his officers, for records relating to him. Then only can a worthy biography of this great Rajah be written.

In the mediaeval condition of society, State-archives often did not exist, and even where they existed and have survived, they are usually surpassed in the extent and importance of their contents by private family records, as Von Ranke pointed out long ago.

He wrote in the preface to his monumental *History of the Popes*:

"The freedom of access [to the treasures contained in the Vatican] which I could have wished was by no means accorded to me . . . .

In the flourishing times of aristocracy, more particularly in the seventeenth century, it was customary throughout Europe for the great families, who had administered the affairs of State, to retain possession of some of the public documents . . . A large part of the State-papers, accumulated during their administration, . . . constituted a part of the family endowments. Thus, to a certain extent the private collections of Rome may be regarded as the public ones."

The truth of these remarks has been confirmed by the wonderful success of a later worker in exactly the same field, Fr. von Pastor, by tapping all the family archives in Rome, as well as the Vatican records, to which Ranke had no access. Even a transcendent historical genius like Ranke failed to give fulness and finality to his *History of the Popes*, because he could not open these closed treasuries of information to which his happier successor, Pastor, was given access half a century later.

Two Captures of Gwalior Fort.

(By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S.)

Few incidents in the romantic history of the famous fortress of Gwalior are more dramatic than the story of its capture by a couple of subalterns

and a handful of sepoys on the early morning of June 20th, 1858. Fortunately I came across some unpublished papers while writing the history of the regiment concerned (" Napiers Rifles ", the old 25th Bombay N. I.) which throw fresh light on this incident. Gwalior has changed hands many times in its chequered history, from the day in 1232 A. D. when it was captured by Altamsh in the 21st year of Raja Sarang Deb. In 1780, during the First Maratha War, it was taken from Mahadji Sindhia in a most daring manner by Captain Popham. The following account is taken from the East India Military Calendar[1] and was written at the time by Jonathan Scott, better known as the translator of Ferishta, who was Popham's Persian interpreter:—

" The fortress of Gwalior stands on a vast rock of about 4 miles in length, but narrow, and of unequal breadth; nearly flat at the top. The sides are so steep as to appear almost perpendicular in every part; for, where it was not naturally so, it has been scarped away: and the height, from the plain below, is from 200 to 300 feet. The rampart conforms to the edge of the precipice all round; and the only entrance to it, is by steps running up the side of the rock, defended on the side next the country by a wall and bastions, and farther guarded by seven stone gateways at certain distances from each other. The area within is full of noble buildings, reservoirs of water, wells, and cultivated land; so that it is really a little district in itself. At the N. W. foot of the mountain is the town, pretty large and well built; the houses all of stone. To have besieged the place would have been vain, for nothing but a surprise or blockade could have carried it.

A tribe of banditti from the district of the Rana,[2] had been accustomed to rob about this town, and once, in the dead of the night, had climbed up the rock, and got into the fort. This intelligence they had communicated to the Rana, who often thought of availing himself of it, but was fearful of undertaking such an enterprise of moment with his own troops.

At length he informed Major Popham of it, who sent a party of the robbers to conduct some of his own spies to the spot. They accordingly climbed up in the night, and found that the guards generally went to sleep after their rounds. Popham now ordered ladders to be made, but with so much secrecy, that, until the night of the surprise, only myself and a few others knew it. On the 3rd August, in the evening, a party was ordered to be in readiness to march under the command of Capt. William Bruce;[3] and Popham put himself at the head of two battalions, which were

[1] East India Military Calendar, 1824, Part II, p. 95.

[2] Gohad State, 28 miles N. E. of Gwalior, and the base of Popham's operations. The Rana, a Jat chief, was our ally.

[3] Lieutenant-Colonel William Bruce, of the Bengal Establishment, was brother to the celebrated traveller of this name in Africa and Egypt. He was a cadet of 1764, and commanded a battalion under Major Popham, during his campaigns in the Gohad and Narwar provinces; also under Lieutenant Colonel Camac, in the same country and from information obtained by the Persian interpreter (Capt. Jonathan Scott), suggested the night attack on Sindhia's camp. He commanded the escalade at Gwalior and was an able and enterprising officer, and most highly esteemed.

immediately to follow the storming party. To prevent as much as possible any noise, in approaching or ascending the rock, a kind of shoes of woollen cloth were made for the sepoys, and stuffed with cotton. At 11 o'clock, the whole detachment marched from the camp at Reypour, 8 miles from Gwalior, through unfrequented paths, and reached it a little before daybreak. Just as Capt. Bruce arrived at the foot of the rock, he saw the lights which accompanied the rounds moving along the rampart, and heard the sentinels cough (the mode of signifying that all is well in an Indian camp or garrison), which might have damped the spirits of many men, but served only to inspire him with more confidence; as the moment for action, that is, the interval between the passing of the rounds, was now ascertained. Accordingly, when the lights were gone, the wooden ladders were placed against the rock, and one of the robbers first mounted, and returned with an account that the guard were retired to rest. Lieut. Cameron, our Engineer, next mounted, and tied a rope ladder to the battlements of the wall, this kind of ladder being the only one adapted to the purpose of scaling the wall in a body, the wooden ones only serving to ascend from crag to crag of the rock, and to assist in fixing the rope ladder. When all this was ready, Capt. Bruce, with 20 sepoy grenadiers, ascended without being discovered, and squatted down under the parapet; but before a reinforcement arrived, three of the party had so little recollection, as to fire on some of the garrison who happened to be lying asleep near them. This had nearly ruined the whole plan; the garrison were of course alarmed, and ran in great numbers towards the place; but, ignorant of the strength of the assailants (as the men fired on had been killed outright), they suffered themselves to be stopped by the warm fire kept up by the small party of grenadiers, until Major Popham himself, with a considerable reinforcement, came to their aid. The garrison then retreated to the inner buildings and discharged a few rockets, but soon afterwards retreated precipitately through the gate, whilst the principal officers, thus deserted, assembled together in one house, and hung out a white flag. Major Popham sent an officer to give them assurance of quarter and protection: and thus, in the space of two hours, this important and astonishing fortress was completely in our possession. We had only 20 men wounded, and none killed. On the side of the enemy, Babuji, the governor, was killed, and most of the principal officers wounded."

The story has an amusing sequel. A quarter of a century after, when Popham, now a Major-General, was about to retire, the cost of the shoes supplied to the sepoys for the escalade was deducted from his pay!

We now, however, turn to an even more thrilling episode. The Mutiny of 1857-58 was raging in Central India, and Sir Hugh Rose had organized a force from Bombay called the Malwa Field Force to sweep through Central India from its base at Mhow, its ultimate objective being Jhansi, the head quarters of our bitterest foe, the Rani Laxmibai. Jhansi fell, after incredible exertions, on April 3rd, 1858, and with the capture of the rebel arsenal

at Kalpi, the campaign appeared to be over. The troops were resting, and Sir Hugh Rose was about to go on leave, when, like a bolt from the blue, came the news that the Rani had captured Gwalior. The Maharaja's troops had basely deserted him in the field, and the indefatigable Rani had entered Gwalior in triumph, seized the fort and treasury and proclaimed the Nana Saheb as Peshwa!

Sir Hugh saw that he must act at once. The rains were coming on, and the black cotton-soil would soon be a swamp, making it impossible for guns to move or armies to manœuvre. Once more the devoted Bombay sepoys, faithful to their salt when nearly all the rest had turned traitor, took the road uncomplainingly, though the heat was blinding and the thermometer at 130°F. After two fierce engagements at Morar and Kotah ki Serai, in the latter of which the Rani fell, sword in hand, at the head of her men, the lashkar and palace were occupied. But the great fortress towered above them, grim and unapproachable. Sir Hugh was now in a dilemma. Unless it fell soon, the country side would be up, and the work would have to be all done afresh. He had no siege-train with which to breach the walls, and an escalade like Popham's was unlikely to succeed a second time. The problem was solved in an unexpected fashion. On the night of June 19th, two Subalterns, Lieutenants Wellington Rose and William Francis Frederick Waller, of the 25th Bombay Native infantry, were stationed with strong pickets at the *Kotwali*. Their duty was to prevent the rebels from breaking back through the Alamgiri gate, the main entrance to the fort at the North East corner. They noticed signs of bad discipline among the garrison, singing and shouting and aimless firing of guns—coming entirely from the further side. They thereupon reconnoitred the gate, and found it apparently unguarded. Waller now proposed to try and capture the fortress with their two parties, urging that if the risk was great, the honour would be the greater. Rose cheerfully assented, and they sent back to the regiment for a blacksmith. He came, and with him came Captain Plumer the adjutant, who was sent by the Commanding Officer, Colonel Robertson, to see what was afoot. The blacksmith, a powerful man, quickly burst open the gate with his crowbar. Inside the path wound steeply up through no less than four other gates,—the Hindola, Bhairon, Ganesh and Laxman gates—and each of these was opened in turn. At last the head of the little column debouched in the narrow lane leading to Man Singh's Palace. Here was a cannon loaded with grape, which was discharged right in their faces! Luckily the rebels, with their usual bad discipline, had double-loaded it, and it burst, or the whole party must have been wiped out. Before the gunners could recharge their piece, Waller and seven sepoys climbed the roof of a neighbouring house and shot them down. So far, the losses had been phenomenally small, (one sepoy killed and seven wounded out of twenty) but unfortunately Rose, while rashly reconnoitring

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[4] Archæological Survey Reports, II, 340.

a building which he suspected to contain rebels, was killed by a Pathan mutineer from Bareilly, who shot him through the spine and then jumped out and killed him with his sword as he lay. Waller shot and wounded his friend's assailant who was thereupon despatched by the sepoys. Reinforcements now came up, and after a fierce tussle, the rebels were sent flying through the Gharghay Gate, to be badly cut up by the cavalry awaiting them below. The capture of Gwalior ended the mutiny in Central India; the hunting down of Tantia Topi was now only a matter of time. Thus this exploit of two young officers and twenty sepoys had most far-reaching results upon the whole campaign. Waller was awarded the Victoria Cross by Queen Victoria, and Rose would assuredly have had it, had he survived, and seldom were decorations more richly deserved. The whole episode reflects the greatest glory upon the Maratha sepoys of the 25th N. I. The storming of Gwalior may be rightly compared to another similar Maratha feat of arms, the capture of Singarh by Tanaji during the Maratha War of liberation in February 1670.

resent Needs of Maratha History.

(By G. S. Sardesai, B.A.)

1. *Fresh research necessary in the North.*

This visit of the Historical Records Commission to Gwalior, a premier Maratha State possessing a long and glorious history, appears to me, for more reasons than one, not only to inaugurate a new era in its progress, but a happy omen for that unification of the future Indian nation, in which both British India and the Native States have to play an equal part. History alone is responsible for keeping India so unnaturally divided, and must on its part suggest a solution for our national unity.

This Commission can be looked upon as the proper body for setting right the historical angularities of the past. Its labours and functions could not well be confined to British India only. This idea came to my mind forcibly during my latest investigation on the Life and Times of Mahadji Scindhia. We know, the whole career of that eminent soldier and statesman was made up by his dealings with most of the powers and potentates, who held sway in that wide circle of territory, of which Gwalior fitly formed the converging centre. The British power then only recently planted in Bengal and Bihar, the Emperor of Delhi, the Vazirs of Oudh, the Rajas of Benares, the petty states of Malwa and Bundelkhand, the Sikh, the Jath, the Rohilla and the Gosawi sardars, the various Rajput Princes, all these and more come for a share in the dealings and circumstances which Mahadji's genius controlled during the last quarter of the 18th century. Moreover, Mahadji himself had under him faithful and devoted lieutenants, both European and Indian,

in diplomacy and warfare, of whom I could at least count some fifty families who had a more or less, close relationship with the fortunes of the Scindhias of Gwalior. The large phalanx of the brave Ingle family, the trusted Deoji Gouli, the heroic Khanderav Hari, the devoted Rayaji and Ramji Patil, Mahadji's bosom friend Ranekhan and son-in-law Ladoji Sitole, his fearless secretary Balarav Govind, three Chitnis brothers, Aba, Krishnoba and Gopalrav, the dauntless fighters Jivbadada and his extensive family, Lakhbadada, the great defender of Agra, the three soldier diplomat brothers, Sadashiv Malhar, Ragho Malhar and Bapuji Malhar, Baloba Pagnis, the last upholder of the Maratha cause; Rao Raja Pratapsingh of Machedi, the founder of Alwar and saviour of Mahadji's life, these and a host of innumerable helpmates of Mahadji, are names to conjure with, in whose deeds of prowess and sacrifice I have been revelling beyond measure. The present representatives of all these are likely to possess papers of great historical interest. Parasnis has already published several volumes in Marathi from which a tolerably correct and authentic story of those times could be constructed. But these Marathi papers must have their counterpart in Urdu, Hindi, Persian and other languages prevalent in the north; and until all this hidden material is unearthed and published in a form convenient for study, we cannot boast of a true and complete history. What we need is an all-sided account; Marathi materials alone, however full, will after all represent only one side; the other sides have yet to come out, and I hope this session of the Commission will awaken a new spirit of historical research and induce hidden stores to come out. Personally I do not know what kind of material may be lying uncared for in this wide territory. I know how the great pioneer Rajwade and several scholars after him, literally scoured the various parts of the Deccan. Such a scouring process is I think too long delayed on this side of India and needs to be at once attempted. Is it too much to expect some more Rajwades to come forth and tackle minutely the various sources in the north.

2. *Contents of the Peshwa Daftar of Poona.*

You will naturally be anxious to know what progress I have been able to make in the important step the Government of Bombay have recently undertaken in starting under my supervision the examination of the old Peshwa Records in their possession. It is the result, I am sure, of the repeated pressure which the Historical Records Commission have been putting in from year to year ever since it was established. While I sincerely congratulate the Commission and the Bombay Government for this important move in the cause of history, I would respectfully beg all to remember that this is only a beginning and that it will take a long time before any tangible results can be produced. The Peshwa Records at the Poona Alienation Office are scattered over some 27,000 rumals, divided into various huge sections, which would take long for a close scrutiny and any estimates given out as to their nature and value must necessarily be tentative.

One great point of distinction that exists between the Peshwa records in this office and those that have been dealt with by Dodwell, Hill and others in the British archives is, that while all old English papers invariably contain the date of its origin which at once facilitates a chronological classification, our Marathi papers here as a rule bear no date and often not even the name either of the writer or of the addressee. The latter are not however the less important on that account as they mostly contain useful historical details. Circumstantial evidence can often be detected in the writing itself, enabling the readers to determine the date. But this is a slow and tedious process. One can hardly edit more than 30 papers a day working steadily for six hours. These papers therefore often defy any classification and yet it is necessary to evolve some kind of a system for arranging the huge and chaotic mass.

It is often asked whether there are papers of historical importance in the Poona Daftar. What sort of papers are they? Are they valuable? These and similar questions occur to the mind of inquiring students and are often difficult to answer categorically. The importance is often relative. Every bit of old paper, which to an ordinary reader would appear practically useless, can be put to some account. No Government in India owns a collection of vernacular state papers that approaches in interest and importance those of the Poona Daftar. It contains quantities of personal correspondence that passed between the agents of the Central Government and their numerous officers, generals, clerks and news-writers working all over the country. Putting aside the two extreme views of estimating the value of a paper, one can safely say that these papers in the Poona Daftar would doubtless make a very useful addition to our present knowledge of the subject. The papers we are discovering throw a flood of new light on the various campaigns, social incidents, political developments and, above all, the character of the various actors who built up and extended the Maratha Empire during the 18th century, and of those also who brought about its ruin. What we get is wealth of detail, which plays so important a part in the delineation of historical characters and incidents. What sort of persons were Bajirav I, his son Balaji, Mahadji Scindhia, or Murarrav Ghorpade? It is often difficult to make definite assertions about their character in the absence of sufficient data. Similarly victories and reverses cannot often be definitely accounted for. These will be more clearly and accurately estimated with the new light contained in these papers. The following may serve as illustrations.

A story commonly goes round that Madhavrao I once struck on the face Gangadhar Yeshwant Chandrachood, the old Dewan of the Holkar, in open Darbar. It was not a mere slap; it was the terrible blow with a whip which nearly killed that old man. Let an eye-witness writing from Poona on 5th August 1768 speak:—

" Gangadhar Yeshwant was fined thirty lacs, (for complicity in the rebellion of Raghoba); but the fine was not forthcoming. The Peshwa had him brought into his presence at noon on 31st July with his son, and brother-in-

law, Baji Vithal and Sakambhat. The Peshwa personally demanded payment and got furious, when a satisfactory explanation could not be given. All the four were tied with ropes, loaded with shackles and terribly beaten with canes. Baji Vithal was given three hundred lashes, counted out loud, till he spat blood. Sakambhat received a similar beating. Old Gangadhar Yeshwant was given twelve stripes, so severe that blood flowed freely. Thereupon the father and the son had instruments of torture put on their ears: they screamed in an agony of pain and were consigned to the guards at the front gate. Huge crowds witnessed the distressing scene. Sakharam Bapu sits quietly at home and does not attend office. The Peshwa alone does the whole of the official work, and rules with a strong hand. Gangadhar continues in terrible distress. The Peshwa himself pays no heed to any intercession. All the bankers and the gentry in the town have taken fright." Does not this episode describe the character of the Peshwa more eloquently than any amount of words will?

In the August number of the *Indian Review*, 1909, Parasnis and Kincaid openly quoted evidence in support of an accusation that Bajirao I was addicted to spirituous liquors, and Rajwade subsequently replied to the charge in the Kesari. But the following interesting letter among many others goes to support Parasnis and Kincaid and proves in addition that Bajirao was addicted to meat also. Chimaji Appa in his own hand thus writes from Bajirao's camp to Balaji Bajirao in Poona.

"During a ride the Raw (Bajirao I) accosted a certain Patil of a village in unguarded words; not knowing what he was saying he casually asked the Patil to go and fetch him some fowls. These tendencies proceed from Mastani. There is no hope of a righteous life until we are rid of this devil. I have not given up hope. You have suggested that we should keep special watch here (against persons bringing in communication from Mastani), and make a severe example of one or two messengers (so that the mischief may be stopped). But I do not approve of your suggestion: it will do us no good. It is not possible to distinguish between one messenger and another. It will lead to evil rumours. If Mastani conveys any false reports about you to the Raw, we shall not then be in a position to contradict them. With blessings. 17 Sawal."

3. *Classification and Arrangement.*

The subject of classifying and arranging the records for easy inspection and use by students of history has already grown into a definite science, and there is a vast amount of literature on it. The Imperial Government of England and the Government of India have taken the necessary steps to ensure proper sifting, preservation and free inspection of old records by the public. Dodwell's report on the Madras Records and S. C. Hill's catalogue are recommended as guides to be followed in this respect by the Government of India in their resolution constituting this Commission (G. R. No. 77 of 21st March 1919 Ed. Dept.). I have during the past few months inspected

the various sections of the Poona Daftar and with the help of the readers sorted so far some 150 rumals of the Chitnisi papers, so that I feel, some kind of a workable scheme for classification and arrangement for these papers can now be laid down following the lines recommended in the resolution mentioned above. When all the records are sifted the Government of Bombay will be in a position to decide how far and under what conditions these records should be made available to the public. The Imperial records of Calcutta and those of Madras and Lahore are now freely opened to all genuine students. The Bombay Government could not give full effect to this policy, perhaps not because they are unwilling to do so, but for various practical reasons. Most of the records at the Alienation Office have been inextricably intermixed with current administrative papers and are not arranged or classified from the historical point of view. It is not possible to disturb the present arrangement. With these difficulties in view we are at present trying to produce an arrangement suitable for historical research.

In this connection I am glad to find that the Commissioner, Central Division, who is in direct charge of the records, is doing all he can to facilitate this work and carry out the objects of the scheme with the help of the Bombay Government. The authorities recognise the intensity of feeling in Maharashtra about these records and I am sure as soon as a workable arrangement is completed, the Government will be able to throw open these records for purposes of legitimate study. The work of examining the papers is of a technical nature involving patient labour for a long time. Under these circumstances, therefore, I ask friends and critics alike to bear with me patiently for some time and await the results. The present sanction of the budgetted amount ends with the financial year and I earnestly hope that both the Government and the Legislative Council will see their way of continuing it for some years to come. Unless this is done, our present labours alone will bear no substantial fruit. The present staff is already proving something like a training class of research workers, for whom there is a growing demand all over.

4. *Immediate publication of selections.*

But the most immediate task is the printing of selections of useful papers from the Daftar, for which we can adopt the model laid down by the late R. B. Wad, in his nine volumes of the Diaries; that is, printing chronologically the original papers in full, with a short note of their contents in English at the foot. The late Rao Bahadur Parasnis, as he often repeated year after year, has copied a large number of papers for printing, which await proper editing and publication at the Alienation Office. They refer to the various campaigns of the Peshwas and their Sardars and contain newsletters from distant places, diaries of many notable historical personages, descriptions of battles and negotiations, judicial decisions, social events and various other papers relating to revenue and economic practices of those times.

I have already submitted proposals to the Government for printing the selected papers and am now awaiting their sanction. Unless these papers

come out rapidly, the great curiosity of the public outside cannot be satisfied. The Imperial and the Provincial Governments have often in the past spent large amounts over printing selections like the Persian Calendars of Calcutta, or those made by Forrest and others; and a moderate amount spent on Marathi selections from such a valuable store as the Peshwa Daftar, would just be in the same line and spirit of helping history on. The Bombay University and similar bodies will not I hope grudge to share the financial burden with the Government. For speedy results may I appeal to all, for co-operation and co-ordination of effort all round.

I have already taken much of your valuable time in bringing to your notice the various needs in which Maratha History stands at this moment. But the subject is vast and of an absorbing interest. Friends of India and lovers of history have been long urging me to speak out. They and the rising generation are clamouring for advance. The publication of papers in Marathi alone will not now do: they must appear in English, if they must reach all readers. Source-books, therefore must come out by the score. Prof. Rawlinson has with great difficulty recently brought out the first Source-book of Maratha History. But if we are unable to print the papers in Marathi itself, you can imagine how much more difficult it may be to print their English translations. For a proper study of Maratha History one needs an exhaustive bio-graphical dictionary, a full glossary of old and technical words, a workable index of all existing materials, exhaustive maps of routes and places of Maratha times, samples of handwritings which can now be cheaply and quickly reproduced by photostat; these and similar aids are urgently required by students of history, if a proper spirit of research has to be fostered. The present staff at the Alienation Office can well take up some of these tasks by way of side activities, provided the printing expenses are vouchsafed. May I appeal to the distinguished President of this session to make the first beginning by offering a small grant from the Government of India for meeting the expenses of printing a few volumes of some of the more important contents from the Poona Daftar? It is, I consider, our great good fortune in advancing the cause of history that we meet for the first time in a Native State and under the Presidency of the *ex-officio* Representative of the Government of India. I earnestly appeal to him to take personal interest in this subject.

Dubash Avadhanum Paupiah and Famous Madras Trial

(By A. V. Venkatarama Ayyar, M.A., L.T.)

Introduction. The Dubashes and their role in South Indian History.— The Dubashes are a class peculiar to South India and in the early days of the

East India Company, they played a prominent part in its affairs. The word Dubash (Hindustani *Dubhâshia*, *Dobâshi* literally a man of two languages) means an interpreter[1]. They were first employed as interpreters between the foreign European traders on the one side and the sons of the soil on the other. In course of time they combined the post of broker with that of an interpreter. The post became lucrative and they were held in high esteem. There is even now a Dubash attached to each important mercantile firm. Owing to their peculiar position as commercial middlemen, they were a potent factor for good and for evil according to their propensities and their influence on their masters.

Avadhanum Paupiah a most talented but notorious Dubash.—Ananda Ranga Pillai and Pachayappa Mudaliar were some of the most famous of the Dubashes and Avadhanum Paupiah was one of the most talented but notorious of that class who flourished in the latter half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

His ancestry[2].—Avadhanum Paupiah belonged to a poor but learned Brahmin family in Nellore District. His community is known as the Tummagunta Dravida Community. The word *Dravida* shows that his ancestors were originally settlers in South India and they must have migrated in course of time to Nellore. Even now they retain the Tamil ritual in all their religious ceremonies, though they have adopted Telugu as their tongue and follow Telugu manners and customs of life. His community was then influentially represented in Madras. There was the celebrated Suram family in the Coral Merchants' Street and the Gurram family in Krishnappa Naicken Street. They were all connected with *Odavartakam* or sea-borne trade. Paupiah must have turned his face towards Madras from Nellore to earn his livelihood.

L'ancre (anchor) Paupiah.—He was first employed as a Gumasta or Clerk to the anchorage Kanakapillai or Accountant under the Sea Customs officer and his duty seems to have been to collect the customs due to the Company. He was generally known as L'ancre (anchor) Paupiah, thus evincing his early connection with the customs. His monthly salary[3] at that time was only one pagoda and 18 fanams or about 6 rupees *per mensem*. Though his salary was so small, yet his appointment seems to have been a highly lucrative one, for we learn subsequently that he was able to own several houses in Madras and possess property worth three to four lakhs of pagodas, thus illustrating the truth of the old saying that *Sirkar* service however trivial was a sure passport to rapid opulence in those days. Even now there is a street called after him as 'Avadhanum Paupiah Street' at Choolai in Madras.

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[1] Hobson—Jobson, p. 328.

[2] Information kindly furnished recently by Mr. Avadhanum Subramaniam, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Nellore, *vide* also his "correspondence" to the *Hindu* dated 25th June 1918.

[3] First report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the charges brought by the Nawab of Arcot against Dubash Paupiah and the Hollonds.

Dubash to the two Hollonds.—In February 1789 John Hollond became acting Governor of Madras and his brother Edward Hollond third Member of Council and President of the Board of Revenue in the same year. Avadhanum Paupiah became the common Dubash to the two Hollonds, one at the head of Government and the other of Revenue. As there were only three members then in the Council, the two brothers were easily able to carry their proposals by a majority.

Climax of his power and dominance over the people.—Paupiah took care on all occasions to represent his masters' power and of course his own. His influence over his masters soon became notorious. It became the custom to speak first to the Dubash in all business with the Governor. It was through Paupiah that the Governor chiefly communicated with the native Courts. He had access to the Governor even at the dead of night and the Raja of Tanjore and the Nawab of the Carnatic could not dare to refuse complying with Paupiah's bidding. Paupiah became the *factotum* of the Hollonds and was even allowed to be present at the Governor's Consultations, though he had no official position to warrant the same. As the old saying goes ' The priest at the altar should be first propitiated before God grants the boon ', so it has become customary for all natives, to first approach Paupiah for one favour or other from the Hollonds. Thus he easily became the most influential and dreaded man in Madras. His house became the rendezvous of all sorts of persons, recipients of favours in the past or favours yet to come.

" Turned by his nod the stream of honour flows,
His smile alone security bestows ".

Wârachittam[4] versus *Mâmul.*—As early as 1763 the East India Company obtained what was known as the Company's Jaghir from the Nawab of Arcot. A Committee was appointed to assign the revenues of the Jaghir and Mr Haliburton by his knowledge of the Persian language and the native manners and customs was an important member of that Committee in 1781. On the recommendation of Mr. Dighton, the Superintendent of the Jaghir, a fixed standard for the division of the produce between the Government and the cultivators known as *Wârachittam* was established in place of the old *Mâmul* or the customary assessment as early as 1786, by the Board of Revenue, of which Mr Haliburton was the most influential member. The *Wârachittam* was more advantageous to the Company's interest and pressed somewhat hard on the cultivators. In 1789 one Mr Appayyangar, son-in-law of Nâttu Srinivasa Ayyangar of Conjeevaram was somewhat hard hit by the *Wârachittam* caused a petition to be presented in the name of the people to the Board of Revenue, praying for the abolition of the fixed standard and the restoration of the *Mâmul.* He was a friend of Paupiah and must have been encouraged by him, in return, perhaps, for a large sum of money to him or through him to the Hollonds. The Government wrote a letter to the Board of Revenue

[4] Perhaps *Vâradhittam.*

suggesting the expediency of altering the *Wârachittam*, but the Board replied that the fixed standard was arrived at after much trouble and investigation by the best advice that could be obtained at the time, and was intended to obviate all the intricacies and difficulties presented by the *Mâmul.*

Hostility of the Hollonds to Haliburton.—The Hollonds thus found themselves baulked by the unanimous opinion of the members of the Board of Revenue and could not carry out their designs. That was perhaps the reason for the ill-feeling between the Hollonds on one side and Haliburton on the other. The Hollonds thought that so long as Haliburton continued to be in the Board of Revenue they could not act as they liked. They wanted therefore to get rid of him—a stumbling block in their way—and indicated their leanings to Paupiah. It was then well known to all classes of Indians that an acute difference existed between the Hollonds and the Board of Revenue, particularly against Haliburton. Paupiah exploited it to the fullest advantage and was only waiting for an opportunity to implicate Haliburton through his own accomplices, which soon presented itself over the betel-renter's petition in the same year[5].

Betel-renter's petition.—It had been usual for many years past to grant to some principal native the monopoly of betel and tobacco (articles of necessary consumption to the natives of this part of India) on payment of a certain rent to the Government of Fort St. George. The *Cowle* or lease, according to its literal wording, gave this exclusive privilege to a distance of 10 miles from Madras, but by custom it had not been put in force for a long time beyond four or five miles from the Presidency town except in the direction of St Thomas Mount. In June 1789 during the regimé of the Hollonds and Paupiah, the renter one Sunka Krishnamma Chetty was induced to claim his full privilege, perhaps in return for large sums of money paid to Paupiah and the Hollonds, as he expected an increase of about 5,000 pagodas by the extension of the limits. The renter accordingly established Custom Houses in the new area. The price of the articles became trebled and the people rose in revolt and destroyed the *Mettoos* (Custom-houses). The Chetty then applied to the Government for redress. The Council referred it to the Board of Revenue. The latter maintained that the extension was an innovation, not warranted by the practice of any renter, past or present, including the present incumbent and that it had not been in force for a long time and that it might lead to riots or disturbances owing to the rise of price in betel. But the Governor in spite of the unanimous recommendation of the Board to the contrary, curiously enough, allowed the renter to exercise his right over the 10 mile radius all round. The Chetty again established the Custom Houses in the new area. The people again rose in revolt and destroyed them. A guard was supplied by the Governor. Some inhabitants were caught and imprisoned in the main guard. The villagers eventually made up their differences

[5] For the whole story see '*The trial of Avadhanum Paupiah*'—a pamphlet printed and published with documentary extracts by Haliburton, 1793. Madras Edition, 1825.

with the Chetty by executing a *Muchilika* (agreement) and requested the renter to release the offenders in the prison. The Chetty approached the Town Mayor's Dubash for their release but he was informed that it could not be done without the orders of the Governor. He then approached Paupiah. Paupiah thought that this was a convenient opportunity to implicate Haliburton; so he asked the Chetty to help him and the Hollonds in the removal of Haliburton by fabricating a charge against Haliburton that he instigated the inhabitants to rise in revolt and to destroy the Custom Houses. The Chetty was not willing to act up to the wishes of Paupiah, as he had no reason to suspect Haliburton in the matter.

Conspiracy against Haliburton.—Meanwhile, one Cholapâkkam Kandappa Mudali began to interest himself in the release of the prisoners. He was a sub-renter under one Ponnappa Mudali, chief renter of South Mâgans. In a particular year there was no rain and the Company waived its rent from Ponnappa Mudali. But the latter pressed Kandappa for the full rent, who came to Paupiah and represented his grievance to him. Paupiah interfered in his behalf and asked Ponnappa Mudali to remit the arrears. When Kandappa wanted the release of the prisoners, Paupiah tried to use him as a tool for his diabolical purpose. A petition was drawn up by one Appayyangar purporting that Haliburton would support the villagers if they rose in revolt against the betel-renter, as the extension of the limit to 10 miles was an order of the Government, but not of the Board, and that if they pulled down the Custom Houses of the Chetty they would have his support and the Board of Revenue. Kandappa was falsely informed in the first instance that it was a petition for the release of the prisoners and asked to sign it, but when the contents were read out to him, for he did not know even to read, he was at first not willing to sign the petition, but was induced by threats and persuasions by Paupiah and his accomplices to do the same and to get one Sami of Aynavaram to atttest the story. Paupiah thus conspired to have petitions presented to the Governor in Council, alleging that Haliburton had instigated the riot.

Concoction of a case against Haliburton.—Sworn petitions and statements were made *ex parte* accordingly in September 1789 by Kandappa and Sami before the Governor in Council. This accusation was found to be insufficient. So it was soon supplemented by a cleverly concocted evidence of an attempt by Haliburton to bribe the two informants Kandappa and Sami to withdraw their allegations against him. It was arranged that a pseudo-Agent of Haliburton, one Renu Rao, *alias* Appaji Rao, should be publicly seized with the alleged hush money of 500 pagodas, in return for an immediate reward of 25 pagodas and promise of appointment as renter of a Jaghir, and sworn evidence of this was promptly given before the Governor in Council. The Governor John Hollond had been previously taken into confidence and let into the secret by Paupiah. The Dubash Paupiah was allowed to be present at the examination of the witnesses in the Governor's Council to see that they

stuck to the evidence that was cooked up. Persuasion and force were freely used by Paupiah and his accomplices during the whole transaction.

Haliburton was required to answer these allegations. He denied the charges and pressed for the appointment of a Committee to investigate the whole affair. But his request was refused; he was told however that he was at liberty to cross-examine the witnesses, and to produce any evidence that he liked before the Governor in Council. Haliburton rightly declined to avail himself of this opportunity, for he knew full well that so long as Paupiah was opposed to him no native would dare to support him. He was also aware that the two Hollonds, who had the majority in the Council and who had a great antipathy to him, would decide against him. So he declared his readiness to affirm on oath in a most solemn manner that the allegations against him were false and had been fabricated by men who were merely tools in the hands of those who wanted to deprive him of his office. The Governor, as was expected, readily declared that he was fully sensible of the mischief of Haliburton, and Edward Hollond the brother agreed, and the two carried a resolution in the Council that Haliburton should be removed from Madras and appointed Paymaster at Chandragiri. It must be said here to the credit of the third member Casa Major that he dissented from the action of the Hollonds owing to the unreliability of the evidence.

Haliburton's transfer to Chandragiri as Paymaster.—Chandragiri was a frontier post in a hilly and unwholesome country, garrisoned only by two European officers, two invalid sergeants and 68 sepoys. Haliburton's appointment as Paymaster was not only new in itself, but would have been considered by the youngest writer in service as a banishment from society. There were no quarters or tents available for him there in the cold weather. It was an entirely new and unnecessary appointment, as the work was till then looked after by the Paymaster at Vellore. The transfer was apparently a mere excuse to banish Haliburton from the Presidency town, so as to put it out of his power to thwart or expose any unjustifiable measures of the Hollonds and Paupiah. Even Haliburton's simple request to stay in Madras for some time to settle his domestic affairs was refused and he was peremptorily ordered to take charge at Chandragiri on peril of suspension or dismissal, intimation of which was sent to him through Paupiah. Haliburton was not allowed to come to Madras, even though he was later on permitted to reside at Arcot 70 miles away, for lack of a suitable accommodation at Chandragiri.

Resignation and dismissal of the Hollonds[6].—Meanwhile John Hollond became very unpopular in Madras. He was called upon by Lord Cornwallis, to make preparations for war against Tipu Sultan of Mysore. He defied the Governor General and made no preparations. He appropriated the revenues of the Carnatic, intended as sinews of war against Tipu, to the payment of the Nawab's debts in which he was more interested. He received a present

[6] Justice Fawcett's article on 'The two Hollonds of Madras and their Dubash' in The *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. V, 1927. Also, Lord Cornwallis' Correspondence.

of 35,000 pounds from the Rajah of Travancore, an ally of the British. Thus orders were disobeyed, preparations for war were not made and the allies were betrayed. Lord Cornwallis was much exasperated and the Hollonds were also accused of flagrant acts of peculation and corruption. Under these circumstances, John Hollond resigned his appointment in February 1790, just after a period of one year's acting Governorship and left the country.

Appointment of Medows as Governor, and reinstatement of Haliburton as Board Member.—His brother Edward Hollond was in charge as Governor for a month, but on the arrival of General Medows from Bombay he reverted as Member. Soon after the appointment of Medows, Haliburton again pressed for a return to Madras. But even though the Governor was favourably inclined, his request was again refused, as Edward Hollond then continued as Member of Council. Soon after, Edward Hollond was suspended for not acting up to the instructions of Lord Cornwallis and deported to England, more or less as a prisoner. Haliburton immediately got permission to resign his appointment and returned to Madras. He again pressed for a Committee to inquire into the circumstances of the accusations against him. Meanwhile he was reinstated to the Board of Revenue by Medows in July 1790. The Court of Directors condemned the action of the Hollonds and favoured the appointment of the Committee of Inquiry pressed for by Haliburton.

Appointment of a Committee to inquire into the plot against Haliburton.—A Committee consisting of three persons presided over by Mitchell made a detailed report of the inquiries regarding the wicked combination against Haliburton. It examined the principal parties to the conspiracy—Kandappa, Sami and Appaji Rao. The three imitators of Titus Oates confessed their complicity in the plot, narrated the whole truth, as Paupiah's influence had already begun to wane visibly after the departure of the Hollonds. Haliburton was completely exonerated and a copy of the findings of the Committee was furnished to him at his request.

Trial for Conspiracy at the Quarter Sessions 1792.—He soon preferred a charge of conspiracy before a Justice of the Peace against Paupiah and his accomplices Avadhanum Ramaswamy, brother of Paupiah, Appayyangar and Venkatachella Chetty. The complaint was admitted and the case was posted to the Quarter Sessions of 1792—11th, 12th and 13th July. William Medows the Governor presided over the Sessions and was assisted by Sir Charles Oakley, Baronet, and Ernest William Fallowfield, Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery for the town of Madraspatam, Garrison of Fort St. George and its dependencies. The bill of indictment against the conspirators was delivered to the grand jury who endorsed it to be a true bill, and referred the same for trial. The Justices of the Peace and the petty jury inquired into the charges for three days lasting over 27 hours and returned an unanimous verdict of guilty.

Incarceration of Paupiah and his accomplices.—All the four were sentenced to imprisonment and fine, and were ordered to stand in the pillory for

an hour. Avadhanum Paupiah was awarded imprisonment for three years and fined 2,000 pounds in addition. The punishment of standing in the pillory was remitted, as the jury recommended lenity of sentence.

Paupiah and the forged bonds of the Carnatic[7].—Paupiah's misfortunes followed him even after his release from imprisonment. It was notorious that a large number of forged bonds in the names of the various Nawabs of the Carnatic were in circulation in the country. The holders of the genuine bonds agitated lest there should be a depletion of the funds available for their repayment, if spurious claims succeeded. The Madras Government, on their complaint, appointed a Committee in 1808 to inquire into these alleged forgeries. It reported that the Nawabs' books had been tampered with to support fabricated bonds, and that Avadhanum Paupiah who was a claimant to a very large amount was one of those who instigated such fabrications.

Threatened prosecution and death, 1809.—The Committee refer in their report to Paupiah as a person whose character and intrigues were well known to the Company and to the Court of Directors. A prosecution for forgery was started against Paupiah but he escaped trial by death in January 1809.

Historical echoes of Paupiah and Hollond in Sir Walter Scott's novel 'The Surgeon's Daughter[8] '—These historical gleanings of Paupiah and the Hollonds fortunately find their echo in Sir Walter Scott's novel 'The Surgeon's Daughter'. Scott was related to the Haliburtons through his father's mother and had perhaps read a copy of the pamphlet on 'The Trial of Avadhanum Paupiah' published by Haliburton in 1793. (Madras edition, 1825.) In the 'Surgeon's Daughter' (1827) Scott says that Paupiah was the Dubash by whose means the President of the Council chiefly communicated with the native Courts and Paupiah himself is depicted as 'an artful Hindu,' a 'master counsellor of dark projects, an Oriental Machiavel whose premature wrinkles were the result of many an intrigue in which the existence of the poor, the happiness of the rich, the honour of men and the chastity of women had been sacrificed without scruple to attain some political or private advantage.' Scott rightly emphasises the vindictive spirit of Paupiah when he writes in his novel that 'if Hartly let his indignation betray him into reproaches against Paupiah and his principal, it will only serve to give the impassible Brahmin, a pretext for excluding him from the Presidency, with a hint that if his language continued to be of such an imprudent character he might expect to be removed from Madras and stationed at some hill fort among the mountains.' Here is certainly a direct allusion to the historical fact of the removal of Haliburton from Madras to Chandragiri. Scott also

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[7] Justice Fawcett's article on 'The forged Bonds of the Carnatic', in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VI, part 1, April 1927.

[8] Mr P R. Krishnaswami's article to the *Hindu* dated 21st June 1918 on 'Paupiah the Brahmin Dubash'. The *Calcutta Review* October 1919. The *Journal of Ind. His.*, Vol. V, 1927. Madras University lectures on 'The Indian connection in English literature', 1929.

dwells in another place on 'the infamous conduct of the Governor's Dubash connived at, as he had too much reason to suppose, by the Governor himself, exclaiming against the want of spirit which they betrayed in abandoning a British subject to the fraud of renegades and the force of a tyrant'. Scott rightly puts into the mouth of Paupiah addressing Middlemas 'You speak at the risk of your head, if you deceive Paupiah, or make Paupiah the means of deceiving his master' 'were you to betray what has here passed, I will find the dagger of a Lootie which shall reach thee, wert thou sheltered under the folds of the Nawab's garment'. Paupiah exclaims in another place 'The share of Paupiah's master is too small and the name of Paupiah is unnoticed.' About John Hollond the Governor, Scott says, he was 'an unconscientious man who neither in his own affairs nor in those of the Company was supposed to embarrass himself much about the means with which he used to attain his object.' He also tells us that 'he carried on through his Dubash Paupiah many mysterious intrigues which he did not communicate to his brethren in the council' and that 'complaints were accumulating fast in Leadenhall Street both against Paupiah and the Hollonds.'

Reflections on the trial, its lessons.—As Haliburton has observed, the trial discloses the unprincipled audacity of the natives of India when under the patronage of men in power and tends to guard all persons against the wily wickedness of the Dubashes who had hitherto too considerable an influence over men in station in this Presidency. It evinces a melancholy instance that where ambition, interest or resentment is the ruling passion with natives possessed with power, no innate principles of honour and integrity will restrain them from having recourse to every artifice, however wicked, for the accomplishment of their designs. Less was effected through force of money than by influence and fear, which operating on the weak and pusillanimous minds of the lower class of natives, was alone sufficient to make them the passive instrument in forwarding the basest designs. So long as such is the case, no public characters not exempting those in the highest stations, will ever be safe. Fortunately there was providential interposition in favour of Haliburton. The Hollonds became discredited and Paupiah lost his support after their departure. It was a remarkable instance of vindication of innocence and speedy punishment of the guilty. The Hollonds no doubt escaped the full retribution for their crimes and misdemeanours. But the elder had to resign his Governorship and the younger was suspended from Membership of Council and deported, though both managed to parade as 'Nabobs of Madras' in the continent of Europe with their ill-gotten wealth. Paupiah was thrown into prison and escaped a second prosecution by his timely death. The large fortunes that he made by very corrupt means in the palmy days of Benfield and others melted away when the Carnatic frauds and forgeries were investigated. He died, almost ruined, of grief and vexation at his losses, in 1809. Paupiah is the type of an underling, trying to overreach himself, still not uncommon in British India, though in a more attenuated form, than in the 18th or 19th centuries.

Conclusion.—In fairness however, to Paupiah it must be said that he is more sinned against than sinning and that he was not the sole offender but rather an unscrupulous but effective instrument in the hands of others whose high station rendered the acts with which they had been charged, infinitely more criminal in them than in Paupiah. But for the active support of the unscrupulous Hollonds, even the notorious Paupiah would not have ventured so far. The story illustrates the degeneration that easily sets over a political inferior when under the shadow of a political but evil-minded superior. It exemplifies the truth of the couplet in the Kural of the ancient Tamil sage and poet Tiruvallurar that the subjects look up to the sceptre for their upright conduct, even as the world looks up to the sky for its prosperity.

"வானோக்கி வாழு முலகெலா மன்னவன்
கோனோக்கி வாழுங் குடி" — Kural

A Paper Sanad of Basavappa Nāyaka of Ikeri.

(By Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M.A.)

This interesting document is in the possession of Mr K. Narayanayya, of Kallianpur, South Kanara, Teacher of Kanarese in the Milagres Secondary School of the same place. He willingly lent me the paper for some months for photographing and studying it. I gladly take this opportunity to thank him publicly for his kindness.

The document measures 23·3×12 in. It is written on Indian paper leaving broad margins, specially to the right. The script is Kannaḍa. The characters are clear and beautiful, written with fairly black Indian ink. In the right upper corner of the document there is something written in modern times, perhaps referring to the collection of documents in the possession of the owner. The document is beautifully preserved.

This record is a śasana or grant made through a sanad or letter. Such paper śasanās were not uncommon in the later times of the Ikeri Dynasty ; though such documents were also inscribed on copper plates or on palm leaves[1]. The Śringeri maṭha, Mysore, possesses at least 28 of such sanads written on paper[2]. There is nevertheless a difference between these Śringeri sanads, and the one that is the subject of this paper. The former generally bear at the end the word *binnaha* (respectful communication) in Nāgari characters. This word also seems to stand for the signature[3]. But this sanad of Basavappa, just at the end of the script, has a seal deeply stamped. It is however so small that nothing can be made out of it. I do not know of any other seal in the documents of the Ikeri Nāyaks.

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[1] A palm-leaf sanad of Śivappa Nāyaka, 1650, A.D. is mentioned in *M. A. R.*, 1909, p. 25.

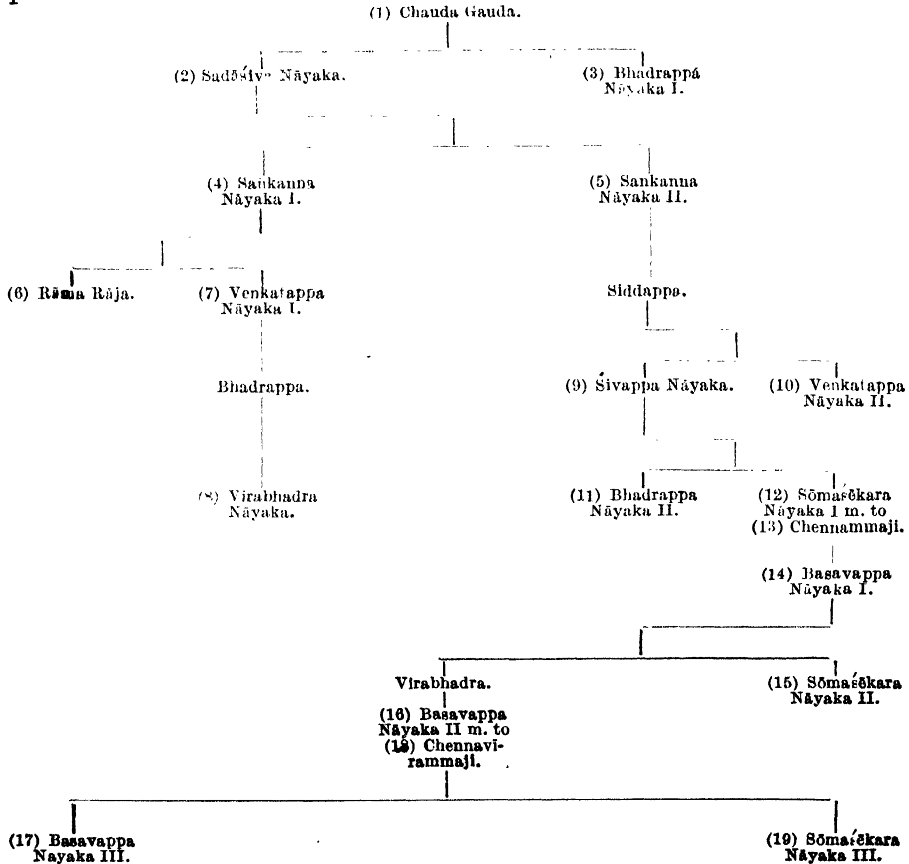
[2] *M. A. R.*, 1916, pp. 64—68.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

SANAD OF BASAVAPPA NĀYAKA II OF IKERI.

The chief who issued this sanad was Basavappa Nāyaka of Ikeri. The genealogical line of these rulers is not finally fixed as yet; for their history, in spite of the efforts of Rao Bahadur Narasimchariar, late Director of Archæological Researches, Mysore[4], and Mr. Severine Silva[5], has not been carefully studied.

After consulting both the indigenous sources and the Portuguese documents[6] we have ventured to give the following pedigree of the family of the Ikeri Nāyaks. My postgraduate research student, Mr. Ernest Alvarez, B.A., has helped me in drawing it up:—



As seen in the above genealogical tree, there are two Basavappas in the family: one the father of Sōmaśēkara Nāyaka II, who ruled from 1697 to 1714; and the other the nephew and successor of the same Sōmaśēkara Nāyaka, who ruled from

[4] Cf. Narasimacharia, *The Keladi Rajas of Ikeri and Bednur*, *J. R. A.S.*, 1911, pp. 188—193.

[5] Cf. Silva, *The Ikeri Dynasty*, *The Mangalorean Review*, VIII, pp. 47—54.

[6] The Portuguese had many dealings with the Ikeri Nāyaks. There are hundreds of documents referring to their history in the Archives of the Portuguese Government at Panjim. Manuscript copies or photographs of these documents are kept in the MS. Section of the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

1739 to 1754. Now the document in question bears no date. Hence it is necessary to verify the year given in the document in order to know which of the two Basavappas issued it. The year Raktāksha does not fall within the reign of Basavappa I; but corresponds to the year 1744-45 which was the fifth regnal year of Basavappa II. The letter was written in the month Phālguṇa, that is the twelvth month of the year.

South Kanara was definitely under the Ikeri Nāyaks from the time of Śivappa Nāyaka (1645—1660). Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka I in the first years of the 17th century had conquered the different petty kingdoms west of the Ghats; and though they rebelled after his death[7], they were again subdued by his successor Vīrabhadra Nāyaka. But Kanara was totally subjugated when Śivappa Nāyaka captured the forts of Mangalore, Basrur, Gangoli and Honavar from the Portuguese between the years 1647 and 1653. It is not strange therefore that Basavappa Nāyaka I should interfere in the affairs of Kallianpur.

The document records the grant of a field in the Bārakūru hōbli to the petitioner for the service of the Mahāliṅgēśvara temple erected by him at Kallianpur.

From the examination of this document it is evident that individual persons built temples in Tuḷuva, always perhaps hoping to obtain an official recognition from the king. The grant was perhaps made, or perhaps only proposed by the Karnika or accountant of Bārakūru hōbli, to be confirmed by the Ikeri king. The grant is also noteworthy in another respect; it gives us the names of the three territorial administrative divisions of Tuḷuva. The smallest administrative unit seems to be the *grāma* or village; a number of grāmas would form the *śime* or country, and a number of śimes would constitute the *hōbli* or county.

The hōbli here mentioned is Bārakūru, one of the most important towns of Tuḷuva. It is the traditional capital of the famous Tuḷuva hero, Būthāla Pāṇḍya; and in later times, under the first Vijayanagara Dynasty, it became the capital of the whole of Tuḷuva, as one of the Viceroyalties of the Saṅgama rulers, with the name of Bārakūrurājya. Now the modern village of Barkūr still shows to the visitor the partly buried remains of its former grandeur.

The temple in question had been built in Kalyāṇapura Peṭe, the modern Kallianpur, which is considered a suburb of Uḍipi. Kallianpur also is a very ancient town. It is mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes as the see of a Christian Bishop in the early 6th century A.D. This town is also referred to as the capital of a petty kingdom in a poem entitled *Yama Bāsava Kālajnyāna*[8].

The grantee named Puruśa Rāma seems to be one of the ancestors of the present owner of the document.

I gratefully owe the following transliteration and translation of the document to my postgraduate research student Mr. Bhasker A. Saletore, M.A.

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[7] Cf. Heras, *The Expansion wars of Venkatappa Nayaka of Ikeri*, *I. H. R. C. Proceedings*, XI, p. 106—124

[8] Cf. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thirher*, I, p. 220; Stuart, *South Kanara Manual*, p. 265, Wilson *Mackenzie Collection*, II, pp. 15—16. (Calcutta, 1828) Cf. *Ibid.*, I, p. 285, No. 34; p. 303, No. 5; II, p. 10; p. 29, No. 27; Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnée of Oriental Manuscripts*, I, p. 655, No. 1552.

Transliterati on.

Raktākshi Samvatsarada Phālguṇa Shu (dha) 5 rallu Śrīmat Keladi Basavappa Nāyakarû Krushṇage barasi Kaḷuhida Kāyya. Kalyāṇapurada Purasana Râmanu hujuru bandu Kalyāṇapurada peṭheyalli devasthānava kaṭṭisi Mahālingeśvara Dēvara pratishṭhe māḍisidhene yī DevarigeSvāstheyilladd arinda Bārakūra Hōbaḷiyallu nillisida nashṭadallu kaḷiyāda jaḍḍinasthaḷavanu uttârava Koṭṭalli yī sthaḷadallu tengina sasihāki gaddesyanu mâḍi Bhûmisâgamadi konḍu devatā sēve naḍasi bandhemendu heḷi Kondalli Bārakūra Hōbaḷi Karaṇikaru barakoṭṭa chappū pramāṇa yī Hobaḷi Paduvamunnuru sīmē Toṇasigramadinda Kalyāṇapurada Kaluvina Hoḷe Teṅkadikkinallu Jaḍḍinasthaḷa[9] KKe nillisida nashṭadinda ga[9] ha[9] Divakudurallu Mūligārana Kūḍe tenginasasi hâkuvabagge barsikoṇḍa sthaḷa[9] KKe ga[9], ha[9], ubhayam ga[10], ha[11], Niravārada sime Uppūru gramadallu muligrāma Kayya tengina sasi hākuvabagge barasikoṇḍa sthaḷa[9] KKe, ga[9], ha[10] ubhayam nillisida nasṭhadinda ga (3½) ge, kraya ga[9] kke, ga (5) rallu ga (17½) nnu Aramanege tegeḍu konḍu yî ga (3½) na uttarava koṭṭu yî sthaḷagaḷige kayyainda haṇava muṭṭisi teṅgina sasi hāki gaddeyanu mâḍi bhūmisāgamāḍikonḍuyi Dēvara amratapaḍi nandādipta bagge naḍasi barahēḷi Dundubhi Samvatsarda Pushyadallu appaneyāgi ade nirūpavādiyallī yî bage krayada hanavannu koṭhenu sambhanda yī Rāmanakayya prāku barasida Krayya ga[9] KKe ga (5) nallu ga 17½ hadineḷu varahannu aramanege tegedukonḍu uttārava koṭṭaddu Bārakūra Hōbaḷi Paḍuvamnunūr Sime·Tonasigramadinda Kalyāṇapurada Kaḷuvina Hoḷe teṅkadikkinallu Jaḍinasthaḷa[9] KKe, nillisida nashṭadinda ga[9] ha[9], Devakudurallu Muligarana Kayya tengina sasi hākuvabagge barsikonda sthaḷa[9] KKe, ga[9] ha[11] Nirāvarada Śime Uppūrugrāmadallu Mūligārana Kayya teṅginasasi hākuvabagge barasi konḍa Sthala[9] KKe ga[9] ha[10], ubhayam nillisida nashṭadinda ga 3½ mūruvare varahana svāsthiyanu yi Rāmanu Kalyāṇapurada peṭhe yallu kaṭṭisi pratishṭe māḍisida Mahālingēśvara Dēvara Dēvatāvechchakke Śivārpitavāgi koṭṭu yī sthaḷagalige kayyinda haṇava muṭṭisi teṅginasasi hāki, gaddeyanu māḍi konḍu bhūmisāgamāḍi konḍu yī Dēvara amratapaḍi nandā dipta bagge naḍasi bāhariti kaṭṭu māḍisi kaḷuhisiddheve rekhe pramāṇa nashṭada bhūmi viṅgaḍisi Koṭṭu yī Kāgadava Sēnabavara Kaḍitakke barasi tilisi yivana vashakke koḍuvudāgi.

(The Ikeri Seal affixed).

Translation.

On the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the Raktākshi Samvatsara› Śrimant Kēladi Basavappa Nāyaka sent to Krishna the following written order (which was as follows).—On Puruśa Rāma of Kalyāṇapura[9] having come into presence[10] (and having said)—" I have established the god Mahālingēśvara in the temple built by me in the Peṭe of Kalyāṇpura. This god having no permanent service, (and) on the loss incurred thereby because of the god having been made to reside[11] in the Hōbali of Bārakūru ; (and consequently) on the waste-land being given to me, (and) on my saying that I would plant cocoanut trees and make field

[9] " Kalyanapurada Purasana Ramnu hujurubandu."
[10] " Hujurubandu " Cf. *M. A. R.* 1916, p. 75, para. 136.
[11] " Yi Deverige Svatheyi Uddarinda Barakura Hobliyalli nillisida nasthadallu."

which I would plough, and that I would perform the service of the god"—the Karanika of Bārakūru Hōbali wrote an order as follows :—To the waste-land (running from Toṇasi graṁa in the Paduvamuṇṇuru śime of this (Bārakūru) Hōbali, down to the ferry river of Kalyāṇapura on the southern side, for having been (left) uncultivated 1 ga (diana) and 2 ha (nas) a piece of land mentioned in writing for the sake of planting cocoanut trees by the Mūligāra in the Diva Kuduru 1 ga(diana) and 1 ha(na) (thus) both (total) 2 ga (dianas) and 3 ha (nas) in the Uppūru graṁa of the Śime of Niravāra for one piece of land mentioned in writing for planting cocoanut trees by the Mūligāra tenant 1 ga (diana) and 1 ha (na) together for the loss incurred thereby 3½ varāhas, at the rate of 5 ga (dianas) for one ga (diana) 17½ varāhas to be brought to the palace (?) these 3½ ga (dianas) varāhas (?) being granted as *Uttara* (*i.e.* free of tax ?), the money for those places being paid personally ; cocoanut trees to be planted, fields to be made, the land to be ploughed, and food-offerings and even lamp-service to be duly performed thus has the order been passed in the Pushya month of the Dundubhi Saṁvatsara ; (wherefore) "According to the usage I shall give the money at this rate ; orders should therefore be passed accordingly." On Rāma having said this, according to the ancient agreement written by him, for 1 ga (diana), 5 ga (dianas) and 17½ Varahas have been given to the place as adjustment. From the Tonasi graṁa of Paḍuvamunnuru śime of Bārakūru Hōbali down to the southern ferry of Kalyāṇapura, for (every) one piece of waste-land which was left uncultivated 1 ga (diana) and at the rate of 2 ha (nas) for (every) one piece of land for the sake of planting cocoanut trees by the Mūligāra in the Divakuduru 1 ga (diana) and 1 ha (na), in all 2 ga (dianas) and 3 ha (nas) in the graṁa of Uppūru in the śime of Nirāvara, for the sake of planting cocoanut trees by the Mūligāra (one piece of) land for which 1 ga (diana) and 2 ha (nas) in all the loss resulting thereon 3½ varāhas. This to Rāma for the expenses of the services of the god Mahāliṅgēśvara established in the Peṭe of Kalyāṇapura, having been finally given, money having been received personally for those lands(?), cocoanut trees to be planted, fileds to be made, and ploughed, arrangements to be made for the conduct of the offerings[12] and evening lamp-service. Thus have we ordered ; the ground is to be measured according to line[13] and is to be separated, this Kāgada is to be entered in the Kaḍita of the Sēnabōva, and to be given over to the charge of this man.

(The Ikeri Seal stamped.)

The European Records on Shivaji.

(By Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D.)

1. *Nature and extent of the Records.*

All of us are aware that Sir Jadunath Sarkar, a prominent member of the Commission and an eminent scholar, has thoroughly examined, criticised

[12] "*Amritapadi*", Food-offering Cf. M. 1923, p. 62 Ins. No. 49.

[13] "*Rekhe pramana*" Cf. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, (A Copper-plate at Shimoga dated, 1672). Ins. No. 249.

and adjudged the value of the sources for the history of Shivaji. Their intensive study rightly led him to make a very cautious and sparing use of the Marathi material and to rely on the contemporary Persian and English Records. He has also given detailed information on the character and value of the English, Portuguese and French material for the period in question. The Dutch material alone has not been *fully* tapped by him. The Dutch Factory Records in the India Office, both in English and Dutch, contain some valuable material. Then the Dagh-Register, being in the Dutch language, remained a sealed book to us for a long time. The relevant portions have now been translated and are of great value in giving information, among other things, on the career of Shahji in the Carnatic and in constructing the history of the struggles between Bijapur and Shivaji on the western coast of India. The English and Persian material is not at all sufficient on the two preceding points. But for letters preserved in the Dagh-Register up to 1664, the history of the conquest of Kudal by Shivaji would have remained incomplete. After 1665 references to Shivaji in the Dagh-Register become too meagre, as the Indian letters were from that time copied into a different register, known as the "Incoming Letters". Some of these letters concerning the activities of Shivaji are fortunately available at Batavia. Copies have been kindly supplied to me by the Chief of the Archives, but as these have still to be translated into English, I am ignorant of their real value. The English Records from the tragedy of Afzal Khan to the death of Shivaji are so extensive that with the exception of a few gaps here and there, the history of Shivaji can be completely made out of them. At present there are about 750 documents in English with me, besides the material in the other European languages. The major portion of it has been obtained from the India Office.

2. *Value of the Records at Bombay.*

Still the Bombay Record Office contains some material on the period of 1630 to 1680. There are three manuscript series in which matter on Shivaji's life is available to some extent. These are:—

Surat Diaries No. 1 (1659-1696).

Outwards or Outward Letter Book of the Surat Factory (1630-1700)—4 Volumes.

Inwards—Vol. I (1646-1701).

The dearth of material is fortunately supplemented by volumes known as "Papers Unavailable in Bombay". These are type-script copies of letters, consultations, etc., which were available in the India Office but missing in the Bombay Record Office. The cream was extracted by Mr. Forrest in his Home and Maratha Series, there yet remains a good deal in them relevant to our period. It partially obviates the necessity of getting copies from the India Office.

3. *General Value of the European Records.*

Several important and extensive works have been written on the life of Shivaji. Each scholar has attempted in his own way to throw light on the main incidents and deeds of the hero, but the details have like blind alleys still to be lighted up. Every scholar must have performed the insuperable task of selecting a certain version or constructing a new story of some incident of the hero's life. The psychological process of selection and construction from a contradictory and confusing mass of details cannot be usually laid bare by a writer. It is to burden the book with details in which the ordinary reader is not interested. But those who, out of curiosity, desire to test the veracity of facts, require the complete material before them, so that they may judge whether the task has been judiciously and impartially performed by the various writers.

This point can be illustrated by selecting four thrilling adventures of the career of Shivaji, such as the murder of Afzal Khan, surprise of Shaista Khan, audience with Aurangzeb and escape from Agra. There are several disputable points in each story and these need solution It will be seen that the contemporary English Records furnish a reliable evidence on the various phases of Shivaji's life.

4. *Light on Afzal Khan's tragedy*

(a) *The Strength of Afzal Khan's army.*—The English letter of 10th December 1660 states that the Khan was sent with 10,000 horse and foot. This is borne out by Tarikh-i-Ali (II. 7), but Shivaji Pratapa and Rairi Bakhar have 12,000 force.

Sabhasad says that there was infantry also, besides 12,000 horse.

Chitnis, however, gives the figure of 30,000 men.

(b) *Demolition of temples.*—There is no mention of it in the English letters. The Dutch Dagh-Register and the Portuguese records as given by Mr. Pisurlekar do not refer to it.

Rairi Bakhar is silent on the matter.

Chitnis and Shiva Digvijaya remark that the Goddess at Tooljapoor and the God at Pandharpur were removed soon after the news that Khan was going to demolish them.

Sabhasad and Shivabharat allege that those at Tooljapoor and Pandharpoor were desecrated.

(c) *Shivaji's treachery.*—The contemporary English letter of 10th December 1659 clears up the *issue of the murder* of Afzal Khan. Its words are:

" Because the queen knew with that strength he was not able to resist Shivaji, she councelled him to pretend friendship with his enemy; *which he did.* And the other (whether through intelligence or suspicion it's not known)

dissembled his love toward him, and sent *his mother* as a hostage, assuring him of his reality."

This letter is explicit on the point that Afzal Khan was advised by the queen to have recourse to dissimulation and treachery and that Shivaji learning of the treacherous design, endeavoured to counteract the plot by various methods, in self-defence. It was thus a fight of wits in which Afzal was ultimately outwitted by the shrewd and courageous Shivaji. Ravington did not consider the murder of Afzal Khan as an act of treachery. This contemporary view of the tragedy confirms the statements of the Maratha chronicles.

(d) *Weapons used for murder.*—Did Shivaji seriously injure Afzal Khan with his *Waghnukh and dagger* or did he use his dagger only or the sword? On analysis the evidence filters down to this:—

1. Sabhasad.—Waghnukh and dagger, while Khan's head was cut off by Sambhaji Kavji.

2. Shiva Digvijaya (169).—Waghnukh and sword, while the Khan's head was severed by Yesaji Kank.

3. Chitnis (61).—Waghnukh and sword, while the Khan was beheaded by Yesaji Kank and Tanaji Malusare.

4. Jedhe Karina.—Waghnukh and sword.

5. Shivabharat (20-16-23).—Bhawani Sword only—there is no mention of Waghnukh at all.

6. Rairi.—Dagger concealed in his right arm.

7. English Letter.—Dagger from out of his bosom.

8. Fryer.—' Slips a stiletto from his coat sleeves.'

9. Khafi Khan.—Dagger only.

10. Manucci.—A small and very short lancet.

11. Jedhe Sakavali. } No mention.
12. Basatin-i-Salatin. }

The last eight sources throw a doubt on the use of the well-known Waghnukh.

5. *Issues of Shaista Khan's surprise.*

In the daring exploit of Shivaji in which he surprised Shaista Khan, the following questions still remain doubtful. In case of a fresh enquiry, the European records are of great help.

(1) What was the strength of Shaista Khan's army?

(2) Did Shaista Khan put up in Shivaji's house at Poona?

(3) With how many men did Shivaji or any one of his captains, proceed to the Khan's camp?

(4) How was he surprised by Shivaji?

(5) How did the Khan make his escape?

(6) Where did the Khan receive injuries?

(7) How many and which important personages died in the scuffle?

(8) Was Shaista's daughter captured by Shivaji?

(9) Was Jaswant Singh won over by Shivaji and thus persuaded to remain neutral during this night attack?

Let us take up these questions *seriatim.*

(1) *Strength of Shaista's army.*—Shivaji Pratap (p. 90) says that Shaista and Ran Dulla Khan were sent with a force of 60,000, but according to the—

Rairi Bakhar (14).—80,000, and

Sabhasad Bakhar (35).—1,00,000 horse, besides elephants, camels, war-chariots, etc. An ocean-like army with 32 crores of rupees was sent.

Chitnis (96).
Shiva Digvijaya.
Manucci (II. 25).
Carré.
Thevenot.
Guarda.
Grant Duff.
Orme.
Dow.
} Do not mention the number of troops.

(2) *Shaista's Residence.*—The evidence on this point is analysed below:

Camp alone is mentioned in—

(*a*) Shivaji's Letter quoted by Mr Gyffard from Rajapur, dated 12th April 1663, says that Shivaji 'got into his tent to salam'.

(*b*) 4th May 1663.—Evidence of a trusty servant of Rustam Jamah who was specially sent to enquire into the matter, makes the same report.

(*c*) 24th May 1663 in a letter from Kolhapur by the English merchants: "Shivaji going into Shaista Khan's tent".

(*d*) 25th May 1663.—Surat Letter to Madras—'Shivaji did lately in his own person set upon the tent of Shaista Khan'.

(*e*) Sabhasad (pp. 33-34).—Nabob's tent and Nabob's pavilion.

Sabhasad (pp. 33-34).—"Shivaji is very expert in treachery when he entered my camp, he jumped forty cubits from the ground and entered the pavilion?"

(*f*) Chitnis (p. 18) and Chitragupta.—Several times the word "Tent" has been used.

(*g*) Thevenot.—Having one day informed Shivaji that on a certain night he would be on guard near the tent of the General, the Raja went there with his men, and being let in by his Captain, he came to Chasta Can.

(*h*) John L'Escaliot, in a letter dated 26th January 1664.—" Hee therefore with 400 as desperate as himself enters the army undiscovered, comes to the generalls tent, falls in upon them, kills the guard."

(*i*) Orme (p. 11).—" They got into the tent of Chasset Khan after midnight, who escaped with a severe wound in his hand."

(*j*) Carré.—The Mughal General was far removed from his army, in a camp badly fortified and near a seraglio where he passed his time giving himself up to love and pleasures.—Shivaji conducted his troops up to the middle of the enemy's camp."

(*k*) Dow (III. 367).—Cutting their way through the screens which surrounded the tents of Shaista Khan, they entered that in which he slept.

Palace or House is the place of the incident:

1. Shiva Digvijaya (p. 220).—The house where Shivaji formerly lived.

2. Shivaji Pratap (p. 90).—Palace.

3. Rairi Bakhar (pp. 14-15).—Mentions Lal Mahal, thus giving the impression that the incident took place in Shivaji's palace.

4. De Guarda.—" He entered the lodging of Sextaghan which was in the very houses that Neotagy and Sevagy had built and posted behind the walls of these houses he began to affect a breach with hand pikes, a strong wind prevented the noise which would otherwise follow, for Sextaghan himself had slept in the house ". (P. 66.)

5. Scott (p. 10).—" Passing without alarm to the Palace."

6. Grant Duff.—House built by Dadaji Kondeva.

7. Manucci (II. 104).—" Outside it he lived in a mud house that he had caused to be built near a tank."

8. Sarkar (p. 88).—" Took up his residence in the unpretentious home of Shivaji's childhood."

We cannot ignore the evidence of the authentic contemporary letters. There could be no mistake in reporting on such a simple point. It appears to me that Shaista Khan and his personal retinue stayed in tents pitched in the compound of the Lal Mahal. The " unpretentious house " of Shivaji would have been too small for a rich grandee and general of the rank of Shaista Khan. Some persons might be occupying the house itself, but the greater portion would have put up in tents. The surprise attack might have been led by Shivaji by jumping over or mining the compound wall. Escaliot, Carré, Thevenot and Fryer confirm the testimony of the letters.

(3) *The number of men accompanying Shivaji in his attempt to surprise Shaista Khan.*—Shivaji's own letter quoted by Gyffard—

12 April 1663.—400 choice men.

24 May 1663.—400 men.

25th May 1663, Surat Letter.—400 of his men.

There is unanimity in the English letters on this point, but the evidence of the Bakhars is contradictory:

Chitnis (98).—2 to 3 hundred men.

Sabhasad (33).—2 hundred men.

Shivaji Pratap (98).—5 to 7 hundred men.

Shiva Digvijaya (220).—4 to 5 hundred men.

Khafi Khan.—2 hundred Marathas.

Guarda.—Netaji and not Shivaji with 80 men.

(4) *Shaista Khan's surprise.*—The difference in the statements on this point will be clear from the following evidence:

Shivaji's letter quoted by Gyffard.—" Shivaji got into his tent to salam and presently slew all the watch."

The Nabob was in bed. Chitnis (98), Rairi (15), Khafi Khan (Elliot. VII, p. 270), Scott (p. 10), Manucci (II. 105).

The Nabob had not gone to bed, but was sitting in the company of his wives. Sabhasad (p. 33).

The Khan was in bed, but his wife was first awakened by the noise. Shiva Digvijaya (221), Sarkar (p. 90).

" He came to Chasta Can, who being awakened." Thevenot.

(5) *Method of Khan's escape.*—There is no mention of an escape from a window in the five contemporary letters, neither in the Sabhasad and Chitnis, nor in Thevenot, Escaliot, Fryer, Carré, Manucci, Dow, Orme, and Khafi Khan.

All these contemporary accounts are somewhat confirmed by Guarda.

Grant Duff seems to have given currency to this story and it has been accepted by the later historians.

Rairi (15) says that " Shaista Khan leapt over a wall that was in his way and got safe beyond it."

6. *Shivaji's audience with Aurangzeb.*

There seem to be as many versions as there are writers regarding Shivaji's audience with Aurangzeb.

The account of *Shivaji's appearance* in the Hall of Audience at Agra is variously given in different histories:

Sabhasad.—Shivaji made three salutes and offered a Nazar.

Chitnis.—Shivaji did not make any obeisance, but the present was offered by Ram Singh on behalf of Shivaji.

Shiva Digvijaya.—Though Shivaji had agreed to salam the king, yet he lost consciousness in rage and hence did not bow before the throne.

Rairi.—No salam was made either on approaching near or returning from the throne.

Tarikh-i-Shivaji.—A low arch was put up to make Shivaji bow his head before the throne, but Shivaji passed through with head backwards. He made no salam and was dismissed without any ceremonies.

Dow.—Shivaji did not make the usual obeisance and showed contempt and haughty demeanour. So he was dismissed, but through the intercession of Princess Zeb-un-Nisa, he was given a second audience. Shivaji again behaved rudely and even asked the Princess' hand. Upon this Aurangzeb ordered him as a mad man from his presence.

Alamgir Namah.—He kissed the ground before the throne and made a large present.

In my opinion, Shivaji was too shrewd to ignore the simple truth that a defeated foe and an uncrowned commander could not claim equality with the Emperor who was also his conqueror. Besides, he would not give offence to the Emperor from whom he had come to solicit the viceroyalty of the Deccan. It is very unlikely that Shivaji could jeopardise the chances of the success of his mission by neglecting the ordinary formalities at the very outset of his interview. Therefore, the version of the Sabhasad Bakhar and Alamgir Namah is acceptable here.

Shivaji's place in the Durbar.—With regard to the place where Shivaji was asked to stand in the Durbar, there is as usual much difference.

Shiva Digvijaya.—Shivaji sat near Rohilla Khan, the Prime Minister.

Rairi.—They stood by the side of Rahim Khan, a Pathan.

Alamgir Namah.—He was given a seat near the throne among celebrated nobles.

Manucci.—Instead of giving him the promised position, he assigned him the lowest place in the first circle of nobles within the golden railing.

Sabhasad and Chitnis.—He was asked to stand behind Jaswant Singh.

As the statement of Sabhasad and Chitnis is partially borne out by the English letters, it is to be preferred to others.

The story of Shivaji's swoon.—The two contemporary English letters do not make any mention of Shivaji's fainting away in the Court. The Bakhars like the Sabhasad and Chitnis have the same version. The account is confirmed by Manucci, Thevenot, Carré, D'Orleans, Orme, Dow, Duff and the authors of the Tarikh-i-Shivaji and Alamgir Namah. The story of Shivaji's fainting is given by Shiva Digvijaya and Khafi Khan and adopted by such historians as J. Scott, Mill, Elphinstone, Beveridge, Montgomery, Martin, Douglas, etc. All contemporary and ancient authorities are unanimous on

the point that Shivaji did not fall down in a swoon. Even Khafi Khan has expressly stated that Shivaji *pretended* to faint away.

Attempt to commit suicide.—The story of Shivaji's readiness to commit suicide in the Durbar is given by Orme on the authority of Thevenot. It is as unbelievable as the statement of Sabhasad that Shivaji wanted to kill Maharaja Jaswant Singh. The latter had done no wrong, on the contrary, had all along done very estimable service to him. Moreover, it was no fault of the Maharaja to stand in the front rank, therefore Sabhasad's statement is most improbable.

Guard on Shivaji.—The Shiva Digvijaya and the Rairi Bakhar state that Fulad Khan was appointed with 10,000 men to keep watch on Shivaji. This number is reduced to half by Sabhasad, and augmented to 25,000 by Chitnis. Manucci's figure seems to be most moderate when he writes that three corps of guards were posted round Shivaji's tent.

Shivaji's escape.—Sabhasad, Chitnis and Shiva Digvijaya tell us the story of the baskets. It is confirmed by Fryer and Manucci (II. 139). But the Rairi Bakhar states that Shivaji went out with the men who were carrying the fruits. The contemporary English letters confirm the old Bakhars and hence their version alone is acceptable.

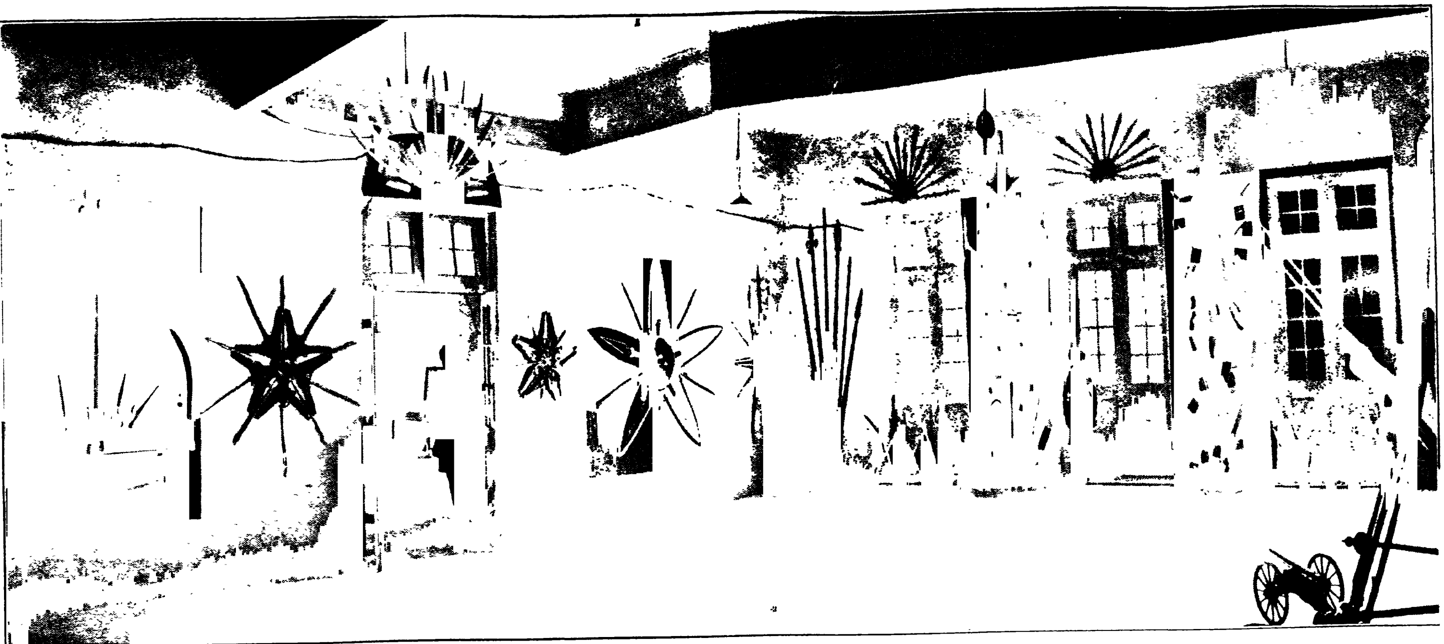
Grant Duff has given the story that Shivaji and Sambhaji after getting out of the baskets, were carried away by a fleet horse to Muthra. This version might have been taken by him from Manucci (II. 139). But it is unsupported by the Bakhars. According to Shiva Digvijaya, Shivaji soon became a Bairagi and took the road to Kurukshetra.

Sabhasad and Chitnis affirm that at two cosses outside the city, they left the baskets and *set out on foot* to the village where Shivaji's Karkuns were. There they disguised themselves as Bairagis and went towards *Muthra on* foot. A similar story is told in the Rairi Bakhar.

The escape on horses under the circumstances seems to be very improbable, and I am inclined to believe the version of the Bakhars as true.

Conclusion.—Such details can be easily multiplied, but I hope that it has been fully proved that even important points in the career of Shivaji are yet disputable.

On close scrutiny, the structure of each incident, exploit or expedition falls to the ground; only the foundation or basic fact of a particular event having happened, remains in tact. The details present such a kaleidoscopic variety that they even become vague. For the sake of accuracy and definiteness of details, the help of the English and European records of that period, is of supreme necessity. These throw a flood of light on numerous questions, though at times even these have to be accepted with caution. As a detailed comparison of different versions is sure to lead us to the right conclusions, there is an urgent necessity of the publication of all available material on the heroic life of the Maker of the Maharashtra.



OLD ARMS DISPLAYED AT THE HISTORICAL EXHIBITION

HELD AT GWALIOR IN DECEMBER 1929

IN CONNECTION WITH THE TWELFTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

Capture of the Gwalior Fort in 1780.

(By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F. A. S. B.)

The fort of Gwalior has a very chequered history about it. It is during the 6th century A. D. that for the first time it makes itself known, that is, during the reign of the Huna potentate Mihirakula and under the name of Gopadri-durga! Evidently Gopadri has survived into the modern Gwalior which is locally pronounced as Gawāliyar. The general history of this fort showing how it changed hands with the passing of time has been fairly well set forth in the *Gwalior State Gazetteer*. Vol. I, p. 228 ff. Here however I propose to deal with that part of its history when it was captured by Captain William Popham on the 4th August 1780. An account of this capture has already been given by James Grant Duff in his work entitled *A History of the Mahrattas* (R. Cambray & Co.), Vol. II, p. 420, and also by Jonathan Scott, Persian Interpreter to Popham and published in *The East India Military Calendar*, 1823, Vol. II, p. 93, and also quoted in the *Gwalior Gazetteer*. There is however a third source, not yet known to the historian. It is the most reliable account of the capture as it has been given just by that Officer who himself seized it and written by him again not long after the event but on the very next day of its capture. It is really the official account he despatched for the information of the Governor General in Council. If we carefully compare it with that of Jonathan Scott, we find that the latter while it omits some important details, records some particulars which are at variance with the former. Grant Duff, however, has given a better account so far as these important details are concerned, but it is not so full. Nevertheless, it produces the impression that he had before him the original descriptive letter of Captain Popham himself. This perhaps explains why this letter is not traceable in the Imperial Record Department. A copy, however, has been preserved in *Public Proceedings* (Home), 24th August to 2nd October 1780, p. 1400 ff. The disappearance of the original is no doubt a grievous loss; nevertheless, it is a matter of good luck that this copy at any rate has been preserved for the historian.

It is true that Gwalior or rather Lashkar is now the Capital of His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia. But it was not so originally. In fact, up till 1810 the seat of the Government was a veritable Lashkar or moving camp. And it was in this year that Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia permanently fixed this Lashkar near Gwalior. As in 1780 Gwalior was not the capital of the State, it was not a matter of exceeding surprise if the fort was captured by Captain Popham. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the fact that it was thought to be one of the strongest forts in India, being styled 'the Pearl in the Necklace of the Castles of Hind' in the Taj-ul-Maāser, we cannot but express our unstinted admiration to Captain Popham for the unique ingenuity with which he conceived the plan and the extreme daring

with which he executed it. Let us hear the story of the capture from the Captor himself. Copies of his three letters have been preserved in the archives of the Imperial Record Department. The first of these he wrote on the 4th August 1780, immediately after the event, merely informing and congratulating the Government upon it. The second was written the very next day, setting forth a detailed official account of the capture. It is with this letter that we are principally concerned. " This place, gentlemen ", so runs the letter, " having been pronounced, and with justice by the Princes of Hindostan, to be impregnable, and being so situated as to render an examination of it, which could be relied on, a source of danger and uncertainty, I have for a long time balanced in my mind the most eligible mode of attack ". The place where Popham formed a plan of attacking the fort, he says, was Reporie, a village about five coss distant from Gwalior where he came and was stationed after subjugating the Cutchwagaon District. His spies were continually employed in searching for a part of the fort which was fit for escalading. After many and dangerous trials they at length brought him advice in regard to one part where ascent was possible. The remainder of the story can be best told in the words of Captain Popham himself. It is a long extract but as it bristles with very important details, it is worth giving:

" . . . The Fort is nearly three coss in Extent built on an exceeding high Rock scarped, for the most Part, all round, and garrisoned by a thousand Men. The Part the Guides proposed our ascent by, was where the scarp was about sixteen Feet high from hence to the Wall, a steep ascent of about forty Yards, and the Wall to be escaladed about thirty Feet in height. I took the Resolution immediately. [The object was glorious and I made a Disposition to present as much as in my Power, in Case of a Repulse, that the Loss we should sustain might not tarnish the Honour of the attempt. I formed the Detachment for the service without any assistance from our ally.]

On the third at midnight Lieutenant Cameron the Field Engineer, having prepared Ladders and every other Requisite for scaling with great Dispatch and Secrecy, I ordered the Party for the attack to be formed. Captain Bruce, whose abilities are well known to you, at the Head of two Companies of Grenadiers and Light Infantry, commanded by Lieutenants Wilson, Archibald Scott, Allen and Patterson, led the van of the party. They were followed by myself with twenty Europeans under Lieutenant Legartwood, and two Battalions of Sepoys, under the Command of Lieutenants Ford and Hamilton. Captain Maclany, with his battalion, two Guns and the Cavalry, received orders to march at *two* in order to cover our Retreat in Case of a premature Discovery, or in the event of Success to prevent Ambagee, with his Troops from escaping. The camp was left standing under charge of Captains Mayaffre and Clode with a Battalion.

At the Break of Day the Van arrived at the Foot of the scarped Rock, where wooden Ladders were immediately placed, and the troops ascended to the Wall, when the spies climbed up and fixed the Rope Ladders, the Sepoys.

then mounted with amazing activity. The Guards on the alarm assembled to the Plain in order to dislodge the assailants, but our fire soon repulsed them with great Loss and the Detachment pouring in very fast we pushed on to the Body of the Place. The greatest Part of the Garrison had however taken advantage of the time employed in forming the Troops and quitted the Fort with Precipitation. The Conquest was now complete. At Sunrise or a little after we were Masters of the strongest Hold in India. Many Prisoners and some of note such as Peer Khaun Kiladar, and some particular Friends of Babajee are fallen into our hands the latter was mortally wounded in the attack, and killed himself in going out of the Fort . . . "

It has been mentioned above that the originals of these two letters are not traceable but that copies of the same have been preserved in the Office of the Keeper of the Imperial Records. This no doubt somewhat detracts from the usefulness of the records. Thus the place where Captain Popham was stationed before his men captured the fort has been spelt in the copy as " Reporie ". In Jonathan Scott's account it is spelt Raypour and placed 8 miles from Gwalior. It has been identified in the Gwalior State Gazetteer (Volume I, page 239) with Raipur, 26°8′ N. 78°4′ E. This last place has no doubt been mentioned under Zila Gird Gwalior in the village List forming Part III of the above volume. But curiously this List speaks also of another Raipur which could not have been far distant from the former as its latitude and longitude are 26°52′ N. 78°26′ E. respectively. Similarly the officer of the State who was in charge of the fort has been called once as Ambagee and another time as ' Babajee ', whereas Jonathan Scott calls him ' Bapogee ', corresponding no doubt to ' Bapuji '.

Excepting these few typographical mistakes the copy of Popham's letter can be easily utilised for the purpose of history. As already remarked, it was written by Popham the very next day after the capture of the fort and consequently the details cannot but be considered as reliable. It may be placed side by side with the account furnished by Jonathan Scott. The latter no doubt supplements it in many respects, but it is not clear how far they may be accepted. Because Scott's account somewhat smacks of inaccuracy. Thus Scott tells us that Popham was indebted to a band of robbers for information about the place from where it was easiest to climb the fort and afterwards his spies only confirmed it, whereas Popham's letter clearly shows that his spies were continuously engaged in looking for a spot from where they could escalade and that they fixed upon one spot ' after many and dangerous trials '. This means that they themselves determined and fixed upon the spot after a good many experiments and that they did not merely approve of any that was shown to them as Scott's account leads us to infer. Similarly, Scott says that when the detachment approached the fort, Lt. Cameron, the Field Engineer, was the first to mount the rock and tie a rope ladder to the battlements of the wall. Popham speaks of Cameron but only as preparing ladders and other requisites for climbing

and does not even say whether he at all accompanied them on this venture. Certainly he would have made a prominent mention of the Field Engineer if the latter had first climbed the rock and fixed the rope ladder. There are many such differences between the two accounts, which point to the inference that Jonathan Scott, Persian Interpreter as he was to Captain Popham, was not accustomed to rigorous accuracy and unconsciously imported some details to embellish his story. His story again suffers considerably from the omission of important details about the officers who took part in the adventure. These details occur mostly in Grant Duff's account though not with as much fulness as in Popham's letter. This is another reason for suspecting that the original of this letter which is now untraceable was before the author of " A History of the Mahrattas ". No excuse was therefore needed for placing the contents of Popham's letter before the students of history.

The capture of the Gwalior Fort was a great event and produced momentous consequences. It is therefore no wonder if the Governor General in Council at Calcutta were transported with joy when the news reached them after nineteen days. For on the 24th August they wrote to Captain Popham as follows: " Nothing could exceed the satisfaction we have felt on the news of an Event so favourable to the Interests of the Company, and so marked with Honour to their Arms, as that which you have placed before us. The spirit of the attempt, the judgment with which it was planned, and the gallantry with which it was executed, are equally conspicuous and as they highly merit our applause and thanks, we desire you will now accept them from us to yourself, and present them in our Name and in the strongest manner to the Officers and Men under your Command ". Two days after, that is, on the 27th the Board wrote a letter to the Hon'ble Court of Directors informing them of the event and sent it by the Danish ship which was on that day on her departure, and a duplicate by the Portuguese ship which was then ready to sail (Public P. P. 1436, O. C. 28 August 1780, No. 4). The next day they sent the same news to the Rear Admiral of the Red and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's ships in India, who was stationed at Fort St. George (Public P. P. 1436-1437, O. C. 28 August 1780, No. 5). And this joy naturally culminated into a commission conferring upon Captain William Popham the rank of Major " in reward " as the draft says " of your Military Services in the Capture of the Fortress of Gwalior effected under your Command, and on other signal occasions, and in testimony of the high sense which we entertain of the same ". The Commission ends as follows: " Given under our Hands and the seal of the Said United East India Company in Fort William this thirteenth day of November in the Twenty-first year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith and so forth, and in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty " (Public O. C. 13 November 1780, No. 28). I wonder whether the name " United East India Company " is a short form of " the United Company of merchants trading to the East Indies " which the Com-

pany bore from 1710 to 1833. If so, it is not quite clear why the full name was not set forth as might naturally be expected in a formal and serious document of this nature. Secondly, it is worthy of note that George III has been here called King not only of Great Britain and Ireland but also of France.

When the Fort was captured, it was decided by the Governor General and Council on the 24th August that it should be retained as a British post. They communicated their intention to Popham by means of the same letter that conveyed to him and his men their warmest congratulations on the capture of Gwalior, that is, the letter dated 24th August. To this he sends a reply (on the 12th September) saying that " the great extent of the fortifications, and of the Shiber Punnah, under its immediate protection, required at least, a Battalion of Lascars, and seventeen or eighteen hundred sepoys, merely for the duty of the works, without the capacity of detaching a man, on any occasion " (Foreign 9 October 1780, No. 2). In this letter he has expressed his opinion as to the actual strength required to garrison the fort. But nine days after, that is, on the 21st September, he sends a long communication, in which he specifies what is absolutely required for the immediate defence and convenience of the garrison (Public O. C. 10 October No. 3). He also sets forth the result of a joint and minute examination of the buildings and fortifications which he had carried along with the Field Engineer of his Detachment. A detailed plan is also submitted along with the communication, which is not now traceable. This letter throws some light upon the condition of the fort when it was captured. The whole of the interior, it seems, was in ruins except the Killedar's palace and the few contiguous houses. It was " ruinous to such a degree that when the Place was taken, two men could not go abreast to any part of the works ". This required an immediate remedy and so a road 30 feet wide was made through the centre and another was carried around the foot of the rampart. The rampart again was for the most part in a bad condition particularly at the place where the explosion of a magazine of powder had occasioned a breach of one hundred and ten yards in extent. The powder and other ordnance stores were also then adjoining to the Officers' quarters and at one extremity of the place. This was highly undesirable. He therefore proposes two buildings which were centrally situated and had two ranges one near to the other as being capable of containing these stores. " These buildings ", says he, " have been Hindoo Places of worship, and are loaded with an amazing quantity of masonry . . . . which should be pulled down and a pitched roof formed, with a conductor placed to prevent the ill consequences of Lightning. This seems to be absolutely necessary from the appearance the Upper Part has of having been shattered by Lightning ". He also remarks that the great extent of the Place makes another Gateway absolutely necessary and shows in the plan where it should be made. These and many other proposals were set forth by Major Popham for the defence and convenience of the garrison. A copy of his letter together with the plan of the fortress of Gwalior was

forwarded by the Governor General in Council on 10th October 1780 to the Chief Engineer for a report of his opinion. Lieut.-Col. Henry Watson was then the Chief Engineer and his reply is embodied in the letter he issued from Fort William on 26th December 1780 (Public O. C. 22nd March No. 3). The opening words of his letter are important and are worth quoting. " I have maturely considered " says he " the Plan and Sections of the Fortress of Gwalior and am of opinion that without any Additional Works or Repairs whatever it is perfectly secure against every open attack and can only be taken by negligence or Treachery; against which no repairations whatever would avail ". He approves entirely of making the roads mentioned in Popham's letter but objects, says he, " to the opening of any other Gateway except the present one, although he has declared a second to be absolutely necessary; because, the Reason which he assigns for it, amounts only to a consideration of the conveniency which it would produce to the Garrison ". " My objection ", he adds, " is founded upon the certainty that a new opening tends to weaken the strength of any Place more especially in a part of the Wall to the foot of which there is already an easy access ".

Some Specific Services of the Indigenous Bankers of Bombay.

(By B. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., L.T.)

The part that the indigenous bankers played in the undeveloped state of the money market has not been lucidly set forth by any of the existing writers. The making of loans and the providing of remittance facilities alone have drawn the special attention of the research workers. Considerable loans were granted to the princes to carry on their wars and several of them played the role of finance members for the rulers of their petty principalities. They were in charge of the Mint, if the native potentate had one such paraphernalia, just to make a show of his sovereignty. The financing of the foreign trade was clearly in their hands. The Surat bankers financed the coastal sea-borne trade between Arabia, East and South Africa and the Islands of the Archipelago[1]. Some of them financed the East India Company's wars and received meritorious recognition for these services[2]. The indigenous

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[1] One Virji Vora—a Surat Banker acted as the creditor of the East India Company's factory at Surat. He financed the Pegu venture to the extent of 10,000 old pagodas carrying interest at the rate of one and one-sixteenth per cent. per month. This was exclusive of the old debt which the Surat Council had to pay and which amounted to 20,000 rials—See Sir W. Foster—" English Factories "—1646-1650—p, 89 and p, 308.

This debt was not repaid even by 1650 by the Surat Council. The interest alone was paid regularly and the Surat Council was put to severe difficulties to pay this heavy sum -Ibid—p, 308.

[2] It is indeed a wonder why the services of the indigenous banking house of T. S. K. Arjunji Nathji of Surat are not taken into consideration by any of the students of banking. He had financial dealings with the East India Company. He financed the trade with the Arab merchants. The Chief of Surat employed this banking house to secure " a

bankers had to remit the tribute to the suzerain overlords and this necessitated oftentimes the conversion of one currency into another. Similarly when the revenue was oftentimes collected in kind, the necessity to sell this arose. The indigenous banker who was in charge of this had perforce to act as a trader at the same time and sell the product at the most favourable time. These were the facts commented on by the previous writers.

The advent of organised banks started in Bombay did not seriously affect them for they did not penetrate into the interior places where the indigenous bankers were conducting their business. Secondly, the language in which they conducted their business must have precluded the possibility of several Indians coming forward to deposit their savings. Thirdly, in the absence of organised attempts to issue sound and sufficiently well-known currency which was universally acceptable to the people, the indigenous bankers busied themselves with this occupation and the very multiplicity of coins gave them full scope to earn profits by charging a small levy for converting sums paid in one coin into sums of another coin. Lastly, they plied another occupation namely the conducting of private lotteries which gave them very lucrative gains. Until it was suppressed by means of legislation, the indigenous bankers of the Bombay Presidency carried on these dubious transactions which inflicted much more harm than actual good on society. But the most significant service for which they ought to be praised was the inventing of Ankra Chulun or the Ant Currency as it was popularly styled in those days. This paper will be devoted solely to the discussion of the Ant currency.

THE ANT CURRENCY.

(Based on unpublished records of the Bombay Government.)

What is meant by Ant Currency?—The Ant Currency to give it, its full name—the Ankra Chulun was developed in days of scarcity of currency so as to remedy all the evils incidental to the era of a diminished or contracted currency resulting out of a long period of disorder, hoarding, export and stopping of the Mint for want of silver. Exchange dealings were conducted in Ankra Chulun. It soon became the preferred standard money for even bills of exchange were drawn payable in Ankra. At the time of the final liquidation

firman for the Castle and a sanad for the fleet" from the Imperial Ruler of Delhi. A certificate to the effect that this banking house discharged its duties punctually and with great fidelity was given by the Chief. In December 1783 the Chief of Surat Mr. R. H. Boddam records the financial help received from the hands of this banking firm. In 1804 when the war with Holkar had to be financed the Bombay Government once again applied to this rich banking house for loan. About thirty two lakhs of Rupees in coin were paid and the story goes that the carts loaded with the bags extended in long continuous rows from Balaji Chakla to the Nansari gate. Khalits, medals and grants were made by the grateful Company for this service. Trawadi Shri Krishnaji was made a Councillor at Calcutta and officially proclaimed as the Company's shroff in India. Another loan of three lakhs of rupees was made to the Gaekwar of Baroda on the guarantee of the Company to enable him to pay off his arrears to his Arab Sibbandees. The village of Shewni was granted by the Gaekwar to this banker for this timely loan.

alone, cash was allowed to pass from hand to hand. Definite rates were fixed for either receiving or paying the cash in exchange for the Ant currency. This rate itself was fixed by the indigenous banker's association. Thus dealings in Ant Currency meant transfers in the merchants' books. Evidently, Ant Currency was merely nominal currency and was not a circulating general medium of currency. It was a device to remove the premium on coins.

Where was it originally developed?—It was the indigenous bankers or Nanawatees of Ahmedabad that initiated this happy stratagem of Ant Currency to supply the place of the usual circulating mechanism—the Ahmedabad Sicca Rupees. Thus it was a substitute for the Ahmedabad Sicca Rupee which was the only standard coin in circulation at that time. It was invented during the days of scarcity of metallic currency. It was a mere book entry and unit of account which was not minted at any time. It soon, however, developed into a standard of value. The metallic currency, (*i.e.*) the Sicca Rupees became convertible into the ant or the nominal currency.

When was it developed?—Prior to 1780, the necessity to hit upon this stratagem was not felt by the indigenous bankers. As soon as scarcity of cash or metallic currency was felt in that year, the merchants began to feel the shortage of sound currency. As the circulation of debased coins and tampered rupees which were not proof from fraud meant great risk and serious loss, all transactions were nominally entered into in the new unit of account, the Ankra Chulun or the Ant Currency, which was its popular abbreviation.

Why was it developed?—As stated already, it was a device hit upon to avoid losses or to overcome the inconveniences arising out of the shortage of metallic currency and as depreciation of the rupee began to increase the rate at which the Ant could be expressed in terms of debased currency also began to increase. Thus by 1811, the rate of conversion was about 100 Ant = 106¼ Sicca Rupees. The Ant Currency bore a premium generally ranging from 6¼ per cent. to something higher. Sometimes the Sicca Rupees fell so low as to make 118 Ahmedabad Sicca Rupees equal to 100 Ant Currency. The premium on coins which it sought to remove was after all not accomplished for it only happened to reappear as premium on Ant Currency.

Two periods of its history.—From 1780 to 1826 the year of its abolition, the history of the Ant can be divided into two broad divisions[1]. Firstly, from 1780 to 1811 the Ant bore a premium which was never higher than 6¼ per cent. The Ant was first approximated to the true standard value of the Ahmedabad Sicca Rupee. But with the actual debasement of the Ahmedabad Sicca Rupees, the Ant soon began to acquire a premium as stated in terms of the sicca rupees.

In 1813 the commercial causes soon began to make their presence felt. The pressure for currency became keen in the days of cotton financing and in the busy days the Ant began to fluctuate and had no steady value. Thus it

[1] See Bruce's Minute on Ant Currency—Public Proceedings—Vol. 30-1826—pp. 19 to 57.

failed to be a steady measure of value defeating the main purpose for which it was invented. In the second period, the Ant represented the Halle Sicca Rupees and the depreciation of metallic currency was another cause still operating as in the first era, in determining the premium attached to the Ant Currency. It continued to exist even after the metallic currency was reformed and the Ahmedabad Mint began to issue silver rupee coins. Blind custom and unconscious usage are responsible for its widespread use.

As soon as the Ahmedabad Mint began to issue sufficient sound (rupees) coins, whose integrity was of an unquestionable character the necessity for the Ant Currency was no longer felt. In addition to the standard coin which was being supplied in requisite quantity by the Ahmedabad Mint to suit the requirements of the people, the Ant Currency existed as a unit of account. But the necessity of a separate unit of account was no longer felt and even before the Government contemplated the enacting of measures to put an end to this practice, the Ahmedabad Nanawatees voluntarily abolished the Ant Currency at a meeting held on 16th December 1825. The original letter written in vernacular was signed by about 74 signatures of the Nanawatees and an English Translation of the same made by the Acting Judge of Ahmedabad on 24th December 1825 is also carefully preserved in the Government Record Office at Bombay.

" On *Sumbut 1882 Mapur Sood*, Friday—we the undersigned Nanawatees Bankers of the Mahajan do make this agreement the reason of our writing in this that in Ahmedabad the Ankra Chulun or what is usually denominated Ant is carried on but the exchange (butao) on ready cash has greatly diminished and it appears to us that the exchange (butao) will still diminish and we have therefore all agreed to fix a certain rate for the Ankra of exchange (butao) and to adopt a new dealing to be carried on in ready cash and from this day the new system is to be carried on and no dealings are to be made in Ankra, all dealings are to be carried on in the new system adopted by us that is in ready cash and up to this day whatever dealings have been made in Ankra, the Mahajan has fixed a certain rate by which they must be given and received as follows—

(1) In all dealings in Ankra ready siccas are to be given and received and we have fixed the rate at 75 per cent. for debit and credit.

(2) In receiving siccas old and new will be taken with an exception of those that are bad, those that have been rubbed, those that have been drilled, those with bits taken off them or those with bits of lead affixed all such will not be received with the exception of those all will be taken and given.

(3) All hundies in Ant received from other parties at Ahmedabad will be paid at the rate fixed with exchange at 6¼ per cent. and from Sumbut *1883 Kartik Sood*. 1st all hoondies received will be paid in ready siccas if the hoondies are written in ant the amount therein mentioned will also be paid in siccas as above mentioned.

(4) If there are any hoondies in ready siccas in merchant houses that have become due up to *Sumbut 1882 Magseer Sood*, 6th Thursday they are to be discharged and received at the old rate of the day on which they became due and those that fell due from *7th Magseer Sood*, Friday the amount must be paid and received in siccas.

If any person does not comply with the above requirement he will be excluded from the Mahajan for two months and after the expiration of that period the Mahajan will assemble and a fine will be imposed on such persons of 25¼ maunds of Grams for the benefit of the Khora Dhore (an Hospital for the sick and maimed animals) after which he will be allowed to join the Mahajan."

74 signatures follow—

Its Services.—Firstly, throughout its earlier period it served as a steady and unvariable unit of account. Secondly, it saved the merchants from heavy loss to which they would have been subjected, if they agreed to tolerate the circulation of drilled, rubbed, debased or chopped Sicca Rupees. Thirdly, it systematised the channels of trade by supplying a reliable measure of value. " Habit becomes second nature " says the well-known adage and the custom became so ingrained in the minds of the people with the result that it persisted even though the circumstances leading to its existence were no longer present. It speaks eloquently about the slowness and difficulties of changes which the conservative minded agriculturists, traders or merchants display in matters of currency and banking.

So long as it was of steady value, it conferred benefit on the merchants but as soon as it began to fluctuate in value, serious evils began to flow in its train. The fluctuations of Ant affected the pecuniary transactions of the tributaries in Kathiawar who undertook to pay their tribute in Ant Currency. As soon as it began to fluctuate in value the states entered into a contract to pay their tribute at an exchange of 15 per cent. premium. The Guicowar was similarly affected and that was perhaps one of the reasons why he abolished the Ant Currency in his territories.

When was it abolished?—The Guicowar abolished it in 1805-1806 so far as dealings in his territories were concerned. He prohibited all dealings except in current Sicca Rupees and ordered all bills which might be drawn afterwards on Ahmedabad in Ant to be paid at the rate of 6¼ per cent. in favour of the Ant.

This reform proved futile for with the stopping of the Mint in 1818 the Ant Currency was once more revived and the fluctuating value attached to it soon disqualified it from acting as a satisfactory measure or unit of account. On 20th April 1818 several traders of the City of Ahmedabad petitioned to the Collector to abolish this nominal currency.[1] No action was

[1] See the Letters from the Government of Bombay to the Court of Directors—1824-1825.

taken until 24th December 1824 when the Acting Judge of Ahmedabad issued a proclamation to the effect that "gambling carried on by means of Ant Currency should be stopped." On 16th December 1825 the Ant Currency was abolished by the joint voluntary action of the indigenous bankers themselves.

Historical parallel.—Just as the "Amsterdam bank money or currency" reduced order out of chaos by its book credit and dealings so also the Ant Currency performed like or similar services and permitted the traders and merchants to continue trade dealings without any embarassment. The Amsterdam Bank was founded in 1609 with the purpose of circulating money which would have steady value and save the people of Amsterdam from the loss arising out of defective currency in circulation. It was originally meant to remove the premium on coins but as soon as it began to conduct banking business in addition to its money-changing functions the bank money began to bear premium when stated in terms of ordinary money.[2]

The Last Days of Nana Sahib of Bithoor

(By Brajendra Nath Banerji.)

Nothing is definitely known about the fate of Dhandu Pant, the adopted son of the last Peshwa Baji Rao II, and familiar to readers of Indian history and fiction as Nana Sahib, the perpetrator of the Cawnpur massacre. The histories of the Sepoy Mutiny and the memoirs of the officers who took part in its suppression all end with the information that the Nana himself with the remnant of his followers was driven across the Rapti into Nepal territory, after his last defeat at the hands of Sir Hope Grant (January 1859).

Thereafter wild stories of Nana Sahib having been detected in the disguise of a *faqir* at some fair in British India were published in the newspapers from time to time. Ambitious police officers arrested *sannyasis* on suspicion of their being the Nana. But all these identifications turned out to be false.

In fact, it is only from the despatches of the British Resident in Nepal that we can expect to get authentic information about the Nana's last days. The following papers make clear both the difficulty of Jang Bahadur in choosing between the refusal of the right of asylum to a Brahman and alienating his British allies by harbouring their mortal enemy. But finally the British Government with majestic contempt, gave up attaching any importance to this fugitive rebel.

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[2] See Dr. N. G. Pierson—Principles of Economics—Vol. I—pp. 488-490.

Extracts from a letter from Colonel G. Ramsay, Resident at Nepal, to the Hon'ble E. Beadon, Member of the Supreme Council of India, dated 8th September 1860.

"I am sorely puzzled with the statement of Mr. Bridgman's tenant. I do not disbelieve it *in toto*, but there are several points in it which it is hardly possible to credit.

* * * *

With regard to the death of the Nana, of Bala Rao, etc., I confess I have always had strong doubts and misgivings in my own mind as to the truth of Jung Bahadoor's representations. They were high caste Brahmins, and the person of a Brahmin is held so sacred here that a Brahmin cannot be put to death, even for murder, and in talking on this subject once with Jung Bahadoor, he told me that if a Brahmin were to kill the King or even a woman or a Braminee bull (I ought perhaps to have put the last-mentioned animal *first*—for really I believe the slaughter of a bull to be considered here as a greater crime than the murder of a woman)—he could not be executed for it.

Jung Bahadoor knew well what crimes the Nana and his relatives had committed, and that, if they were handed over to us, they would have been tried for their lives and in all probability executed; and I suspect that, from the very first, he made up his mind to shield them. He told me so often in the course of last summer that *he was sure they would die;* he was so positive in this respect that it became a joke in our little community; we felt quite sure, weeks before the event was said to have occurred, that it would be reported; and when the report came, what a report it was!! Just half a dozen laconic lines! In forwarding a copy of the *arzi*, I observed: 'Should the circumstance prove to be true, I shall be able to furnish particulars in the course of a few days, and it will doubtless soon be confirmed by our spies along the border. But their clear authentication of it will be very desirable, as the Nana is a Brahmin and is reported to be very wealthy, and in the present temper and spirit of the local authorities on the terai, it is not at all unlikely they may have connived at his escape into the mountains, but I have no grounds for asserting that they have done so.' On the 13th of October 1859 I wrote: 'His Excellency told me that he has received no further particulars of the Nana's death, and upon my observing that the report required confirmation, he replied that he is quite convinced of its truth.' He had declared long beforehand that the event would take place, and when it was reported he seemed anxious that it should at once be taken for granted, and he avoided as much as possible recurring to the subject.

My own impression therefore has always been that the Nana would be suffered to make his escape. In para. 4 of my despatch of the 12th of July 1859, I said, with reference to the apparently unrestricted communication allowed by the Goorkhas between the rebel chiefs and their families upon the hills: 'If such communications be permitted, we can have no security that

the Nana himself and other leaders, whose persons the Goorkhas profess to be ignorant of, may not come up into the hills in the garb of attendants or disguised as *faqirs*, in which latter case they could easily pass on to Mookhtinauth or some other place of Hindoo pilgrimage, and, like Appa Sahib, the deposed Rajah of Nagpore, might elude all attempts to trace them for many years to come.' And again in my letter No. 89 of the 15th of the same month, upon the subject of Bala Rao's reputed death, I wrote as follows: 'When Jung Bahadoor sent me these *arzis*, he told me that Mummoo Khan and Davey Buccus Sing, the Rajah of Gondah' (whose daughter he was so anxious to marry) 'are also very ill, and he repeated this when I met him a few minutes afterwards in the course of my evening drive. He then added that he expected we should hear of their deaths and also of the Nana's ere very long—and I thought the opportunity a good one to caution him against allowing himself to be imposed upon, and told him that we shall hereafter have abundant opportunities for establishing the truth, should any of these leaders attempt to spread reports of their own deaths, which they are not unlikely to do in the hope of escaping further pursuit.' This, of course, was intended as a hint for himself. And again, in my letter No. 115 of 12th September 1859, I said: 'I don't believe the Maharajah has any serious intention of catching the Nana in this manner,' referring to the reward of a lakh of rupees for his capture. 'Indeed, he formerly told me, as I reported in my letter No. 72 of the 13th of June last, that he *could* catch him at any time he pleased, but that it could only be done by *treachery* and that he would do nothing that was *dishonourable*! A lakh of rupees is a tempting bait even to a Nepalese Prince, but still I doubt whether Jung Bahadoor would dare to take it openly as the price of surrendering a Brahmin to be tried for his life. A few days ago the orderly officer remarked to Dr. Oldfield that Jung Bahadoor felt himself in a very difficult position with respect to the Nana, and had said that if, when he goes down into the Terai at the head of his troops in the cold weather, the Nana were to seek an interview with him and were to throw himself down at his feet and claim his protection as a Brahmin, what could he do?' The Nana had previously claimed such protection, as reported in my letter No. 102 of the 8th August 1859, para. 3, in which I said: 'The Nana's letter is a mere general appeal to Jung Bahadoor's compassion, and observes that it is *enjoined* by the religion of the Chuttrees that they should give protection to all *Cows* and *Brahmins*.'"

* * * *

I entertain the strong doubts I have expressed with regard to the Nana's death in ignorance of the evidence collected by Brigadier Holdich upon the frontier in December last, who observed in para. 2 of his letter to Sir W. Mansfield of the 21st of that month (a copy of which was delivered, by order of the Governor-General, to the Maharajah): 'The Nepalese authorities have delivered up nearly every leader remaining alive—whilst the deaths of others

(among them Nana Rao and Bala Rao and Azimoollah) have been most satisfactorily accounted for.'

I must not conclude this letter without mentioning one fact which I consider to be of significance. When the families of the Nana and of Bala Rao first reached this, they shewed no signs of mourning; they had evidently not observed the customs which the Mahratta Brahmins are usually so punctilious in following. Their hair was long and they wore coloured clothes. Some weeks however after their arrival here, but long before Bala Rao's wife died, they went through the usual ceremonies which attend mourning for a near relative. They cut off their hair, dressed themselves in white, and distributed alms to a large number of *faqirs* who were fed, as is customary upon such occurrences, with dhye, choora, sweetmeats, etc., etc., I got glimpses on many occasions of several of the members of the family in their ordinary attire when they first came up here, but on the day of the late marriage of the heir-apparent, when I passed their residence to take part in the procession, they were sitting at a large open window, all clad in white, and a Brahmin Havildar who is constantly with me (the man who was promoted and was presented with a sword by Lord Canning for good conduct in the eventful year 1857) afterwards told me that their hair was cut, and that they had then for the first time adopted the usual marks of mourning.' [1]

An Account of the Sena Kings of Nepal.

Based on a unique manuscript in the India Office Library.

(By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D.)

In Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum (Part III, p. 105) we find the following entry:

" Ratna-Sena-Kulavaṁśa-muktāvalī—genealogy of a number of Sena Kings in the South, by Bhavadatta. Catal 10 No. 3985."

As I was interested in the origin of the Sena Kings of Bengal, who came from the south, I was naturally eager to consult the manuscript. During my stay in London, in May, 1928, I went to the India Office Library and asked for the manuscript. The manuscript bearing the number, as given by Aufrecht, was, however, quite a different book and my disappointment was very great. However, the book was traced by the Secretary under a different number and I had opportunities of carefully examining its contents. A cursory examination was enough to show that I could not expect from it any information on the origin of the Sena Kings. Besides, there did not appear to be any reason to label the ' Sena Kings ' (*i.e.*, chiefs bearing names

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[1] *Home Series, Miscellaneous,* Vol. 725, pp. 783-805. (India Office Records.)

ending in Sena) of the manuscript as belonging to the south. I was going to abandon the manuscript in despair when a reference to fight with kings of Delhi and Nadir Shah excited my curiosity. On going through the manuscript it appeared to be a very interesting account of a long line of kings who established various principalities in the northern hills near the rivers Kosi and Gandak. The family history embraces an account of twenty-four generations of kings, some of whom had fought with the Sultans of Delhi and other Muhammadan chiefs. The account is brought down to the beginning of the 19th century (1802 A. D.) when the book was composed by Bhavadatta at the command of the ruling chief.

As the family had been exercising some power and authority even so late as 1802 A. D., I thought that it should not be difficult to trace it among some existing noble families of Behar or Oudh. For a long time my investigations proved unsuccessful, till I found a reference to the family in Hamilton's account of the kingdom of Nepal. It seems that Hamilton, a member of the British Mission to Nepal in 1802-3 A. D., actually met one of the last representatives of this family and collected information about it. The manuscript in question was evidently secured by him, for he refers to such a manuscript in his book, without naming it, and the name of Buchanan, the former name of Hamilton, is written on the cover of the manuscript. But although Hamilton was in possession of the manuscript, he did not make full use of it, and his ideas about its author were wrong and his knowledge about its contents seems to be faulty at many points

How this manuscript ultimately found its way to the India Office Library, and its original association with Nepal being forgotten, it came to be regarded as an account of Sena Kings of the South, I am unable to explain. A critical study of the manuscript seems to be necessary for two reasons.

(1) In the first place all the Vaṁśāvalīs or genealogical accounts of the kingdom of Nepal, hitherto noticed, are written in Pahariya dialects, and none of them has been published. This manuscript seems to be the only one written in Sanskrit, and deals with a royal family which is practically ignored in other books. Yet this family ruled over extensive territories in Nepal before the present ruling family of that country established its supremacy during the last years of the 18th century. It further appears that it was with the help of this family that the Gorkha rulers established their present position, and if a political conspiracy, formed towards the close of the 18th century, succeeded, this family would, in all likelihood, have been ruling over Nepal valley at the present moment. The Gorkha kings requited the services of this ruling family by treacherously seizing its chiefs, and murdering them in 1804 A. D., and its last survivors spent their miserable lives at Gorakhpur in the British territory.

(2) In the second place, the manuscript gives a connected account of a long line of Sena Kings ruling over the Nepal valley. Now, it is a well-known fact that occasional references have been made by various writers to Sena Kings

of the Hills. Some chiefs of Gharwal and Kumaon, Sukhet and Mandi are even believed to possess traditions about their descent from the Sena Kings of Bengal. These vague and scattered references have not been properly studied so far. The present manuscript seems to offer a valuable basis for the study of these Sena Kings and a discussion of their origin.

I do not, however, propose to take up this general question here, for according to the rules, very properly laid down by the Historical Records Commission, the papers to be read before it should deal with records only or with their interpretation, and avoid discussions of a general character.

In pursuance of this policy I shall merely content myself with a brief analysis of the historical contents of the record. My object in reading this paper here is to elicit further information about these 'Sena Kings' of the Hills from members present whose own study or local knowledge might supply valuable details or further sources for the elucidation of this interesting topic which I shortly propose to discuss in some journals. I might mention, for example, that Atkinson in his notes on the history of the Himalaya (p. 50) refers to an inscription of Mādhava Sena at the great temple of Jageswar beyond Almora. I have not been able to obtain any detailed information about this record. Any help by way of furnishing this or similar information will be very much appreciated and greatly facilitate my task.

I now proceed to give a short account of the record by naming the kings in chronological order and noting the important events, if any, of each reign as mentioned in the manuscript.

1. Ratna Sena (vv. 6-9)—
   (*a*) Established the fortunes of the family by great wars.
   (*b*) The seat of the family was a city called *Chitaura*.
   (*c*) He had four sons (?) (Lit. He was incarnate in four forms.)
      (*i*) Nāgasena.
      (*ii*) Kamalasena.
      (*iii*) Manoharasena.
      (*iv*) Jālimasena.
2. Nāgasena or Jālimasena (?) (son of 1) (v. 10)—
   He became king at Allahabad and defied the king of Delhi.
3. Tutharāyasena (son of No. 2) (vv. 11-12)—
   Finding Madhyadeśa insecure, he retired to the hills in the north and became king at 'Vidvi-Kota' (or Ridvi-Koṭa).
   He had a powerful Kshatriya army more than 20,000 strong and accomplished great deeds in war.
4. Dimirāva (son of 3) (v. 13)—
   Defeated the Nāgas.
5. Udairāva (son of 4) (v. 14).

6. Apûrvachandra (son of 5) (v. 15).
7. Udaichandra (son of 6) (v. 16)—
Described as *Adhirāṭ* (suzerain).
8. Jagadbrahma (son of 7) (v. 17)—
Devoted to religion.
9. Dharmapāla (son of 8) (v. 18).
10. Aneka Simha (?) (son of 9) (v. 19).
11. Rāmarāja (son of 10) (v. 20).
12. Chandrasena (son of 11) (v. 21).
13. Rudrasena (son of 12) (vv. 22-23)—
Plundered the wealth of the Nāgas.
Conquered Pālpāpattana.
14. Mukundasena (son of 13) (vv. 24-25, and a long prose portion following v. 25)—
His wars were great sacrifices, and he bathed in the Kauśikī river after these wars (as if after sacrifices).
His fame spread to the boundaries of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Tailaṅga, Magadha, Mālava, Maru, Kuru, Kāmarūpa, Karavīra, Sauvīra, Kīra, Kāśmīra, Kela, Kerala, Kośala, Antarvedī, Chedī, Mahārāshṭra, Surāshṭra, Lāṭa, Bhoṭa, Barahāṭa, Karahāṭa Karṇāṭa, Mauḍa, Gauḍa, Choḍa, and Draviḍa.—He had four sons.
15. Vināyaka (son of 14) (vv. 26-27)—
He ruled over the enemy's city of Vināyaka (or city bereft of a nāyaka or leader).
His three brothers, Māṇikasena, Vihaṅgasena and Lohaṅgasena ruled respectively over Pālpāpurī, Tanahū, and Makabānapura.
16. Jasusena (son of 15) (v. 28)—
His enemies' wives were roused from sleep by the songs of Śavara females in caves.
17. Dāmodarasena (son of 16) (v. 29).
18. Balabhadrasena (son of 17) (vv. 30-31)—
Obtained sovereignty of *Pālpāpurī* and Chatvara.
Fell victim to a plot (?)
19. Ambarasena (son of 18) (vv. 32-33)—
A great conqueror.
Called also Gandharvvarāṭ (?) [or had a son named Gandharva].
20. Udyotasena (son of 19 (?)) (v. 34)—
Justified the name Pravarāṭ (?)

21. Mukundasena (Relationship with predecessor not stated) (vv. 35-39 and prose)—

Defeated the enemies whose capital was Rājapura (?)

His extensive kingdom, including Ghiriṅga and Gośṛṅga—was further extended up to the Gaṇḍakī river.

Having defeated the *Gulmis*, 60,000 in number, he offered oblations to his ancestors, and having conquered eastern countries invaded by *Gorshās* (or Gorkhās) established his friends there.

That lord of earth and lord of forests quickly defeated the Yavana king called ' Navāpa ', and seized three banners and two water-palaces of the latter.

He had five sons, loved by 5 tribes.

22. Mahādattasena (eldest son of 21) (vv. 40-43)—

His four younger brothers were—

(*a*) Śūravīrasena.

(*b*) Karavīrasena.

(*c*) Chandravīrasena.

(*d*) Dhvajavīrasena.

He had three sons (Nos. 23, 24, 25).

23. Prithvīpālasena (son of 22) (vv. 44-48 and prose).

24. Raṇabāhadurasena (younger brother of 23) (vv. 49-50)—

He was king of Chatvara.

25. Samarabāhadurasena (younger brother of 24) (vv. 51-52)—

Reference is made to Nadir Shah.

26. Ratnasena (son of 23) (vv. 53-54)—

Performed Tulāpurusha ceremony (?)

27. Raṇavīrasena (son of 24) (v. 55) (a contemporary of 26)—

He was the son of Raṇabāhadura, lord of Chatvara.

The last verse says that this genealogy of Ratna-Sena's family was composed by Bhavadatta in Śaka 1724 (Chaturbhuja-dharādhara-bhūmi) (1801 or 1802 A. D.).

Verse 5 says that Bhavadatta was commanded to write this genealogy by Raṇabāhadurasena (No. 24).

N.B.—(1) Colonel Kirkpatrick refers to Pālpā as the Capital of Mahadut Sein, who is evidently identical with No. 22. He must, therefore, have been living in 1793, when the Colonel visited Nepal.

(2) According to Hamilton Prithvīpālasena (No. 23) was murdered in 1804 A. D.

(3) From certain incidents in the history of Nepal in which Mukundasena (No. 21) played some part, it appears that he was ruling about 1779 A. D.

Beyond these specific references, it may be inferred, by allowing an average of 25 years to each generation, that the family ruled from about 1250 to 1803-1804 A. D.

(4) Hamilton says that Asaf-ud-daulla, Nawab of Oudh, bestowed on No. 25 the title of Nadir Shah.

Notes on an Inscription of 1785.

(By S. N. Bhattacharyya, M.A.)

१. यह नौवतखाना विश्वेश्वर का न

२. वाव मजोजुल मुल्क अली-ई

३. ब्राहीम खां सवंत १८४२ में न [वा]

४. व ईमादुद्दौला गवर्नर जनर(ल)

५. अमोरुल मुमालिक वारण हिस्टं

६. स जलादतजंग के फ़रमाने से वल

७. यह लिपिरियं राम ब्रजलालस्य ॥

This is a bilingual inscription in Persian and Hindi and it is inscribed on a stone fixed in the Naubatkhana facing the temple of Viswnath. The first two stories of the building are built of stone and most probably this part was built about 1785. Later on two stories were added. They are brick-built and now used for residential purposes.

The Persian characters have been blurred by lime and most of the letters have been cut out. The Hindi portion is intact, only two letters are missing.

The inscription means that in 1785 at the orders of Governor-General Warren Hastings. Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan constructed this Naubatkhana to the temple of Visweswara.

Who is this Ali Ibrahim Khan? In the Calendar of Persian correspondence edited by Mr. Abdul Ali in Vol. IV letter No. 2, Warren Hastings refers to Ali Ibrahim Khan as a "Trustworthy person whose excellent qualities have long been known to him".

According to Seir-ul-Mutakharin Ali Ibrahim Khan, son of Dr. Mahammad Nasir, accompanied Nawab Ali Vardi Khan to Murshidabad, and settled there on a handsome pension. It was on behalf of Nawab Mir Qasim Ali that he carried on negotiations with Shujauddoulah, the Nawab Vizir of Oudh and won him over for an alliance against the English. He was present in the battle of Buxar and after the defeat he offered his generous help to Mir Kasim.

He was appointed Dewan to Nawab Mobarak-ud-Daulah. When Mahammad Riza Khan was arrested by the orders of Warren Hastings Ali Ibrahim Khan was Riza Khan's vakil and it was due to his efforts that Riza Khan was

released. However, he became jealous of Ibrahim Khan because "that noble person had received the gift of making turbans like that of the Hindoos and of wearing his clothes with a taste and elegance peculiar to himself, and that he has been endowed by nature with a felicity of genius, and an amenity of manners that render him the admiration of the high as well as of the low. Besides, he had the faculty of uttering often extempore verses".

He was offered the Faujdari of Bengal by Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah, Money Begum and Warren Hastings, but he declined the offer because of "dissensions in the Supreme Council", and also because he did not like the post of Fouzdari "as in fact it consisted of little else than a discharge of a Kotwal's office, that is, in fining and killing, and hanging and maiming, and in imprisoning and confining peoples".

All this shows that Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan was a highly cultured gentleman of very liberal views and so he was persuaded by Warren Hastings to build this Naubatkhana. This was a stroke of diplomacy and it reminds us of Auranzeb, who after demolishing the temples of Beni-Madhab and Viswanath, abolished the Sayr duties on fuel for cremation purposes—the object being to conciliate the mass of Hindu population. Warren Hastings had also outraged the feelings of the Hindus by his cruel treatment and expulsion of Raja Chait Singh. So he was anxious to win over the Hindus by ordering a Naubatkhana to be built for a sacred Hindu temple by a Mohammadan. Benares and Ghazipur—later on the ceded districts—enjoying permanent settlement still belonged to Subâh Bânglâ. So it was an officer of the Nawab of Bengal who constructed this 'Naubatkhana' at the suggestion of the *de facto* ruler, Warren Hastings.

This reveals to us the diplomatic genius of Warran Hastings who saved the British Empire in India at a very critical time, when the ministry of Lord North by its stupidity lost a huge empire across the Atlantic.

Right and Left Hand Castes Disputes in Madras in the Early Part of the 18th Century.

(By C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.)

I.—Introductory.—The Great Quarrel of 1707.

After the advance of Daud Khan to San Thomé with ten thousand troops in July 1701, in a very threatening manner, and when six months later the Nawab set up an actual blockade of the Settlement, the Governor set about a more active pursuit of the fortifications of Black Town which were planned as early as 1699 and for which the several castes of the population were assessed. Records of the succeeding three years show instalments paid in by the

inhabitants and their meetings at the Pagoda for the purpose of distributing the burden. On the 26th June 1707 the Council recorded a recent dispute between the two divisions about the passing through some streets on occasions of their weddings; and the Governor was obliged to order guards to lie out to keep the peace. This happened immediately after the sale of the Company's broad cloth to some members of the Left Hand faction and the purchase from them of some goods in open sale at the Sea Gate,[1] thus affording the Company's servants freedom of selecting goods in open competition and obtaining them at lower prices and choosing them from a greater variety. It was ordered that the Company's Pay-Master and the Governor should take with them two heads from each of the factions and survey the pettahs and " consider of what method may be taken to prevent any further disputes of the like nature and report the same to the Governor and Council ". The report was subsequently made by these showing that they had surveyed the place and indicated the respective streets where the two factions mainly lived and the Council ordered (Consultation of Thursday, 17th July) that a few of the Right Hand who lived in the streets of the Left side should sell their houses and prohibited the Right Hand from disturbing the quiet enjoyment of those streets by the Left. And it was further ordered " that neither caste may pretend ignorance of these limits, that the Pay-Master sets up four stones at the cost of the Left Hand caste, according as we have directed him in the draught, and insert thereon in English and Gentoe the purport of this order."

This decision of the Council was an unanimous one; but the Right Hand faction took umbrage at this, and, on the night of the 12th August, placed

[1] Up to this time the practice seems to have been to procure the Company's goods through the agency of Indian brokers who contracted to supply them according to sample and received *dadni* (advance, from *Per.* Dadan-give) for payment of the wages of the weavers and others employed in the manufacture. The brokers and merchants who contracted were for the most part members of the Right Hand Caste, like the chief merchant, Casa Verona. These were suspected of having paid large subsidies to some of the earlier Governors for this privilege. Recently the practice was begun of encouraging all classes of merchants to bring their own goods for sale and to enable the Company to take advantage of their competition. This change of policy, whether suggested by Pitt or not, was " the immediate cause of the outbreak of the smouldering antagonism between the two divisions ". Pitt wrote to Sir Edmund Harrison in December 1707, after the riots had been put down, thus:—" The grounds of these dissentions and what lead the Right Hand Caste into this hellish conspiracy, I find to be that it had firmly been practised among them that the Left Hand Caste could not make any bargains, or buy any goods unless one of the Right Hand were joined with them to direct their Shairs, so that they governed the trade as they thought fit, and the Company's investment fell generally under their management . . . . I put up papers upon the Sea Gate and other public places, to encourage all merchants indifferently to bring in goods to be sorted by the Company's musters, and would agree the price and pay them ready money for them but this tryall had not the effect I desired. The Left Hand Caste (who are the only merchants that can serve you in this method) being intimidated by the threats of the Right and overaw'd by 'em, and upon receiving your order to advance no money or payment upon Investments, I took care to publish it among 'em and that we could not recede from the directions you had given us, upon which some of the most eminent merchants of the Left prevailed upon by the assurance of our protecting and defending them against the insults of the other, undertook the providing goods in the manner you direct (and indeed none else could have done it) upon which the Right Hand, upon seeing their designs defeated and that the reigns of trade were no longer in their hands, fell upon this barbarous attempt to regain it, industriously spreading false rumours amongst the poor and ignorant people to cause them to desert us . . . ." (*Hedges' Diary;* Vol. III, Documentary Contributions to a Biography of Thomas Pitt, page 113.)

papers on the stones in the Malabar (Tamil) language to the effect that the pillars were erected by the authority of Government and " the prevalence of money to the contempt and division of the Right Hand Caste " and that this was written " by the will of the King of England and the Company who will not fail to bring these things to pass; and this by way of caution."

The Council inferred that some Europeans should have had a hand in the drafting of this notice " there being (in it) expressions that these people were wholly strangers to ". The heads of the Right Hand denied the charge and were given a month's time to find out the culprits. Three days later the Right Hand Caste people conducted a wedding procession through one of the prohibited streets on which the Governor sent out a party of soldiers who seized some of the offenders and kept them in the Choultry prison. On the 19th August the Right Hand Castes presented a petition to the Council—" the Petition of the 18 sorts of people of the Right Hand Caste belonging to Chinapatnam "—in which it was asserted that the two streets in which the stones had been put up had been exclusively inhabited by the Right Hand people from the first settlement of the Fort until the French troubles at San Thomé during the Governorship of Sir William Langhorne (1670-78) when several immigrants from San Thomé had built their houses in both the Pettahs indiscriminately. The Left Hand faction had not retired to their own streets even to the present time; but they could not celebrate any marriage with any music in these streets wherein there were more than a hundred houses of the Right Hand people. (Pp. 52 and 53 of *Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book for 1707*).

The next day the Governor reported that most of the Right Hand Caste were gone out of town disliking what we have done in point of justice to the Left Hand Caste. Colloway and Vinkettee Chittees, heads of the Left Hand Castes, acquainted the Board that the differences between the two factions were " more upon account of their making the investment for the Company than that of the streets and till these disputes were over nothing could be done."

On the day when the petition was presented to the Council, William Fraser, who was a member of the Council but had been under suspension even on Pitt's arrival and whose official rôle seemed " to have been to thwart and irritate the Governor for the time being ", posed as the champion of the Right Hand, putting forward the same points that were contained in the petition. The Governor charged him with having made it or read it which he denied with confusion. Two days later, after many of the Right Hand people deserted the town, particularly boatmen, fishermen, washermen, and other necessary handicraftsmen, the Governor summoned all his Council except Mr. Fraser and suspended him *ab officio et beneficio*, lest he might do further mischief and recorded other circumstances indicative of his hostile temper and attitude.

Three days after Fraser's suspension the Governor summoned a meeting of 12 of the principal heads of the two factions and shut them up in a room at the Fort to see whether they could not come to an agreement. The desired agreement was quickly come to. It declared that the Right Hand should live in Peddunaickenpetta and the Left Hand in Muthialpetta. Time was given for the transfer of the castes who might be living in the prohibited pettas to their own; in neither petta no one should sell his house to any one who was not of his own side. Boatmen, lascars, and fishermen that had their houses by the sea side in Muthialpetta should remain where they now were, without giving any molestation to the Left Hand people.[2] This was a concession to the Right Hand who were to undertake to make all of their side who had withdrawn from the Settlement to return without delay. On the 29th August the Governor published a general pardon to such of the deserters as might return before the 10th of September, after taking security from the heads of the two divisions that they would stand by the agreement arrived at. Nothing transpired even after the issue of the pardon; and on the 10th of September the obnoxious stones which were at the bottom of the trouble were slyly removed and the Right Hand side deserters wrote from San Thomé "a most saucy and impudent letter" in which the Council were asked to examine the earlier records for the allotment of streets to the two castes thus—"one of your predecessors with Timmana and Viran did appoint certain streets for the Left Hand Caste and directed how they should act as upon your Consultation Book does appear, upon examination whereof advantage would accrue to the Company which you have hitherto omitted to do."

A meeting of the Council was summoned the next day [15 Sep.] when the Governor charged Fraser with being at the bottom of the whole business. He was ordered to be confined in the Fort and given into the charge of the Captain of the Guard. (Consultation of 16th September).

After a week the Governor and Council granted a pardon to the Right Hand Caste at the request of the Persian and Armenian mediators who offered to deliver the pardon to the refractory deserters and accompany them on their return. But when the deserters had nearly reached Madras they changed their minds and returned again to San Thomé and even took with them by force one of the mediators. The failure of the pardon drove Pitt to extreme fury; the Pariahs who had always the reputation of being the foremost champions of the Right Hand had forced the offenders to turn back from Madras; and Pitt proposed to attack San Thomé with a force on the 26th and to put as many of the Right Hand as possible to sword; this was unanimously agreed to by the Council and it was resolved to march a body of soldiers and *taliars* (watchmen) besides a large number of peons which the Left Hand had raised

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[2] There is a confusion in Dalton's account of the compromise effected. He confuses the petta with a street. The two pettas, Peddunaickenpetta and Muthialpetta, were respectively the homes of the Right and Left Hands. For the growth of Old Black Town and the Pettas see the author's "Stages in the Growth of Madras City" in the *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Vol. II, No. 3.

for their own security. This measure alarmed the Persian and Moor merchants as well as the Pedda Naick[3] who declared that the new Faujdar of San Thomé could be prevailed on to turn the deserters out of his town; and consequently the intended attack was postponed.

The deserters insisted on signing a paper that they would return only on condition that "they may have leave to rebel when they please" and should stand by one another for the saving of their credit, if the Governor should act contrary to his Cowle or the Left Hand should take upon them more than their duty. On the 2nd October it was reported that the deserters had been induced to return and would be coming back the next day or the day after.

On the 4th the new Faujdar of San Thomé who was of the Right Hand division and anxious to get rid of the mob from his place, succeeded in bringing back the deserters to Madras with the assurance that their pardon would be kept inviolate. On the 6th the Faujdar was given a suitable present for his services and Fraser was released from his confinement and the trouble seemed to have ended for all appearances.

After a fortnight's quiet, the Consultations tell us, the washermen put in a petition that their heads combined with diverse others of the Balijawarr caste and compelled them to desert their town and homes and disown these headmen and declared that they would have no heads or chiefs except the Governor and Council. They then presented four heads of their own choosing "which we approved of and "*tasherceft*" (honoured) them, when the whole body signed a paper which is as entered after this Consultation". (P. C., dated 20th October).

An anonymous paper which disowned for the Right Hand Caste people any hand in the late happenings and charged five persons as being the sole contrivers of the late rebellion was found fixed on the Bridge Gate. The latter denied knowing anything of it, as well as the heads of the Right Hand castes. The next day four papers were found fixed on the outside of the bastions of the Inner Fort[4] "the purport of which being full of the most opprobrious language against the Governor, charging him to be the author of the *cadjan* (palm-leaf) letter read yesterday." A week later the Governor produced a paper (from the Left Hand Castes) in the Gentoo language signed by President Baker, Agent Greenhill and Mr. Gurney in 1652 for composing differences between the two factions—the translation of which is given in the Consultation for 30th of October. On the 6th of November a petition of the Left Tand faction was read in Council, praying for speedy justice or for permission to go away at the end of six months. The petition is at great length detailing the origin and progress of the quarrel. It says that, since the Right Hand had two streets in Peddunaickenpetta taken from them, they resolved to

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[3] He was the hereditary police-officer for the Black Town; and a *petta* came to be called after him. He was officially styled the Chief *Taliar* or Watchman.

[4] For the growth of the Inner and Outer Forts, see Love's *Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House, Madras* (pp. 17-35).

send away the washers, boatmen, etc., to hinder goods and provisions coming into the town, bribed the *Junkan mettas* (customs collectors) at Mylapore and at Poonamalle and aimed at impeding the despatch of the Company's ship for England. It then proceeds " the four castes of your petitioners contributed one-half towards the tax of the Town Wall, and the other half was in a manner raised by the Moors, Armenians, Brahmans, Gujaratis and Kanakkupillais who are an indifferent people, and the small matter which remained unpaid was filled up by the Right Hand Castes. All the handicrafts of the Mint are of your Petitioners' Caste."

Articles of charge against Mr. Fraser were framed on the 28th of November for promoting, fomenting, and abetting the late rebellion and for spreading false rumours of similar unrest in Fort St. David and besides throwing in his teeth his tenure of the Deputy Governorship of Fort St. David where he wrought intense confusion.

The heads of the Mukkuvars (boatmen) who had deserted along with the Right Hand people, now sent in a petition that, being Christians, they belonged to neither caste and promised never to adhere to any castes of the Gentoos or desert their employers upon any account. (P. Consultations for December 2nd.)

At a meeting of the Council on the 15th January 1708, it was recorded that " the heads of both castes having been for some days in the Pagoda, this day appeared before us when (they) acquainted us that they had settled all matter in dispute between them about their streets, etc., which they had put in writing and signed ". Also we read that " both castes complain against the Kaicullawarr (Weavers) and the Oil-men that they were very fickle in their castes, that they were some times of one caste and some times of another, which give trouble to both castes, so desired the heads may be sent for which accordingly was done, when the weavers declared for the Left Hand and the Oil-men for the Right Hand which they were ordered to keep to or be severely punished." The agreement is entered after the consultation; it involved the interchange of upward of 500 houses between the two parties which was done according to estimates made by four bricklayers and four carpenters. Should any of the castes act contrary to the agreement, it should be fined 12,000 pagodas to be paid to the Company and receive punishment according to the custom of the caste.

This agreement provides that certain streets in Peddunaickenpetta should be reserved for the Left Hand people extending from the east of Ekámbaréswarar Pagoda to the back of Venkatanarayanappa's stone choultry and Golla Annitcher's House northward to Empson's Gardens, the space forming a square. " The area is believed to embrace that part of the petta which lies south of the existing (Town) Chennai Kesava Perumal Temple and east of Mint Street. The routes to be followed by the wedding and burial processions are defined, it is difficult to indentify them ". The streets to the east of Nautwaree Pilliar Pagoda were to appertain entirely and solely to the

Right Hand Caste and all the westward to the Left Hand; and Ekambareswarar Pagoda and Venkatanarayanappa's stone choultry were to be freely used by both parties. Either caste breaking the agreement was to pay 12,000 pagodas to the Company and be punished at the discretion of Government.[5]

II.—Other caste disputes in the History of Madras.

There was, after the great incident of Governor Pitt's time, a threatened collision between the two factions in Governor Macrae's time (1725-30) Macrae was successful in persuading the disputants to accept arbitration regarding the newly erected Kachálísvarar Pagoda through the mediation of the Peddanaick and some Armenian and Mussalman merchants.

In 1749 a dispute again occurred between the two divisions, shortly after the rendition of the place to the English by the French. The heads of the castes had to be shut up in the White Town for the night and parties of soldiers constantly patrolled the streets of Black Town to overawe the populace (P. C. for 2nd March 1750). The dispute was over the claim put forward by the Right Hand that such portion of Black Town as was demolished by the French might retain its former distinction of streets and the Left Hand people be not suffered to pass over where the Right Hand streets had been. The Council resolved to act on the basis of the settlement made in the time of Pitt and Macrae and obtained the experience of Mr. Morse in effecting a settlement which settled the streets, etc., to be enjoyed by the two factions in the demolished parts. Two years later another decision was arrived at by the Council with regard to the use of the Black Town Esplanade.

Differences between the two divisions arose in 1786 shortly after the accession of Sir Archibald Campbell to the Governorship. The origin of the present dispute was in the old question of passage across the Esplanade. The Left Hand complained that their rivals assumed a mark of distinction "to which they are not entitled, going to the Fort, when sent for by the Hon'ble Governor, with tom-tom, and spoon and bell, contrary to custom ever since the settlement was established". It was then decided that the Esplanade should be common passage for all persons. In the next year a dispute occurred with reference to the Tiruvottiyur Pagoda, which was managed by a Left Hand man where the Left complained of interference with their ceremonies by the Right and of molestation by the Pariahs. In March there was a rioting in Black Town which was quelled by the guard with some loss of life and after many houses were plundered. Government directed the Committee of

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[5] Pitt was greatly troubled by this protracted dispute. He wrote in one of his letters about this as follows:—"I never met with soe knotty a villany in my life, nor ever with anything that gave me soe much trouble and perplexity as this has done". Dalton would exonerate Pitt from all blame in his conduct of affairs during this critical period and declared that "without bloodshed or any act of violence in spite of the treachery of his Second in Command (Fraser) and the opposition of the Right Hand Caste who were far more powerful than their opponents, he succeeded in carrying out the very salutary reformation of the Company's trade which the Court of Directors had ordered". (*Life of Thomas Pitt*, page 338.)

Regulation to make an exhaustive inquiry and furnish them with extracts from the Records of previous disturbances in 1707, 1708, 1716, 1728, 1750, 1752, 1753, and 1771. "The disposal of the matter does not appear in the Consultations."

The next dispute occurred at San Thomé which had come into English possession in 1749 on the subject of flags used in a temple festival (November 1789). The Right Hand here complained of interference. There ensued a general strike; and the Left Hand explained that "they were entitled to use silk pendants of five colours on cords stretched across the streets while the Right could only display white banners". They stated that when in 1771 the Right had the insolence to adopt colours, Governor Du Pré ordered that for the future "the Company's colour of flag only might be used by both parties". There was again a riot in January 1790 at the same place; and the Consultation of the 13th April of that year ordered that in future no flag should be used by either party at San Thomé during their feasts or ceremonies except St. George's Flag, "as ordered by this Government in the year 1771 and according to the custom observed throughout the Black Town of Madraspatnam and in other places."

In September of the same year the Right Hand hoisted their white flags as well as the prohibited colours of the Left in the newly built Krishnaswami Temple in the Black Town. There was the usual crop of disturbances and strikes and Government re-issued its proclamation forbidding the display of any flag but the St George's. Mutual complaints of ill-treatment and assault came in; and a Consultation of the 17th September declared that both the factions had transgressed the orders of Government in using other flags besides St George's flag. "The Left Hand caste having at different times used flags with the figure of a peacock and bull and the Right Hand caste having used those flags besides the monkey and the kite". Government also resolved to inquire into the allegation that the Left Hand had used brass cups over their chariots (cars) which was an innovation; and the heads of both divisions were commanded to enter into penalty bonds for the good behaviour of their respective castes. The next day more petitions were received in which their confiscated flags for the completion of their interrupted procession" and "the Right Hand had the temerity to ask for the return (by Government) of they concluded that from the time of Governor Pitt the Left Hand people had never been allowed to have their pyramid chariots adorned with brass cups. Government promised a full enquiry after the security bonds should have been signed. (Consultation of 21st September).

In 1795 there was a recrudescence of the trouble, this time regarding the disturbances raised by the Left Hand in a procession of the Ekambareswarar Pagoda and during the annual festival of the place. There were counter complaints about the disturbances made by the Right Hand men. The custom was that the procession of both the Ekambareswarar Pagoda and the Town Temple should be admitted without opposition into the streets of both the fac-

tions. The Government ordered that the heads of the Left Hand should be confined in the mainguard until they should produce the offenders. (Consultation dated 31st March 1705).

Later disputes occurred sporadically; and the intensity and bitterness of faction considerably diminished in the nineteenth century. Now these Hands and factions are but dimly remembered as things of the past.

The Story of the "Present".

(By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A.)

The story of the 'present' is the story of the acquisition of the "five new Madras Villages" as they are generally called. These five new villages are Trivatore, Nungambakkam, Vasalavāda (adjacent to Perambur), Catawauk near Ennore and Sātangadu, west of Trivatore. At this time, *i.e.*, when Thomas Pitt was the Governor of Fort St. George, it may be noted in passing that Egmore, Purasawalkam and Tondiarpet were called the 'three old towns'. This shows that these had been the Company's possession for many years prior to the period of Pitt. Pitt opened negotiations with the Government of Shāh Ālam, who had succeeded Aurangazeb in 1707 as the Emperor. Ziya-uddin Khan, the Steward of the Household of the Emperor, and a well-meaning friend of Governor Pitt, was to a great extent responsible for this sympathetic attitude of the Emperor towards the Company's people. On the 31st July 1708 Pitt addressed the Steward that both Mylapore (Miliapore) and Trivatore might be granted to the English. The result of this representation was a grant received in September of the same year of the five Villages as a free gift with effect from the 5th October.[1]

In December came a *hasbulhukm* with a Parwana which contained the following significant statement among others. "In regard that Chosen of his Cast hath not as yet sent a Present to his Majesty upon his accession to (sitting upon) the Sacred Throne, resembling the Throne of Heaven, the Royal Phirmaund in the name of that Exemplar of his people is not come forth. It must be that he send a Present that is suitable". About the same time there was a communication from the Steward giving an idea of what would be acceptable and suitable for the Present.[2]

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[1] H. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. II, pp. 20-22.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

Pitt lost no time in catching the opportunity. In the course of a lengthy communication dated the 4th January, 1709, Pitt says "Since the receipt of which (Perwana) I have procured many of the Curiositys you mention for a Present, for which we want a safe conveyance for that we have daily of great Robberys on the road, therefore desire your Excellency to favour us with an order to all Nabob and Governours to guard the Present from place to place whatever way it comes, and with it shall come out most Dutiful and humble Petition to the King with our addresses to the great Cawn Caunaun and Cawn Bahaudur, but for want of Englishmen of long standing and experience in the Country believe we shall send a Brahmin with it, and direct him to follow your orders which we humbly request you'll favour him with and your protection."[3] The address referred to in the above contained a request, that the Company might be vested with proprietory right over the five new villages, and other privileges granted in Bengal, as for example, authorising a mint at Calcutta. It was thus finally resolved that a suitable present be forwarded to His Majesty with a request that a *farman* to the above effect might be issued to the Company. What items constituted this Present and what was their worth even approximately we are not in a position to say. But there is evidence to demonstrate that one of the items was six elephants.

News reached Pitt that the Emperor was staying at Golconda and at a Consultation[4] the following was adopted: "We having received advices that the King draws near Gulcondah we think it absolutely necessary that as we have received from him the first favours of any Europeans, that it will tend much to our advantage if we make him the first Present, for if the Dutch Present before us, 'tis great odds but that theirs may be so considerable, as to render ours despicable and if ours be presented first it may chance to be dispursed into so many hands before theirs come as not to be able to make any true valuation then by common fame, which is generally five times the value, soe 'tis agreed that all things for the Present be packed up, and made ready to send to Metchlepatam on the Riseing Sun Smack on the first turne of the wind, and that the Persons who have the management thereof see it done. And whereas Mr Lewis is a very worthy, sober, Ingeneous man, and understands the Persian Language very well, as also the customs of the country, 'tis agreed that the Governor persuades him in behalfe of the Company to undertake the management of this affair with the King now near Gulcondah, and Mr Berlu who is generally well respected by the Natives, and understands Moors and Gentu languages as alsoe their customs 'tis agreed that he accompanys Mr Lewis, and in concert negotiate this affair and that in order thereto he be forthwith sent for from Fort St David."[5]

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[3] Diary and Consultation Book of 1709, pp. 3-4 (Madras, 1929).
[4] Despatches to England 1711-1714, p. 142.
[5] Diary and Consultation Book of 1709, pp. 13-14 (Madras, 1929).

The Present was despatched by the Smack Rising Sun, to Masulipatam.[6] The embassy consisted of the Reverend George Lewis, Berlu, Chief Merchant Serappa and some native functionaries, fifty peons, seventy servants and six hundred coolies. Before the gift, which, it is reasonable to assume, was of great value, reached Masulipatam for despatch to Golconda, the Emperor had left the place for the Imperial Capital. Hence, it was useless to take it to Golconda. It lay for sometime in Masulipatam.

In the meantime Pitt retired from his office and William Fraser became President and Governor of Fort St George. The Nawab Daud Khan (Nabob Dow'd Cawn according to the Despatches), demanded the return of the five new Villages and Fraser's Government followed the example of Pitt in winning him over by presents then and there. Hence it was decided to send him a Present " in such rarityes as are procurable not exceeding six hundred and fifty pagodas ".[7] At a Consultation on the 24th November, 1709, a tentative list of articles to be presented was decided upon, and the list included, it may be noted, 400 bottles of liquor. It was also agreed that a sum, not exceeding pagodas 650 resolved upon three days back, could be spent for the purpose. The final list of particulars constituting the present to the Nawab was adopted at a Consultation on the 3rd December, 1709, and its value was estimated at Pagodas 878.[8] It was despatched under the custody of 29 coolies on the 6th December.[9] In 1711, however, these five new villages went back to the possession of the native Government and continued to be in its possession till 1717, when they were restored to the Company under a Moghul Farman.

In the meantime steps were taken to carry the Present to Bengal and to keep it in the custody of the President and Council there.[10] Meanwhile news reached Madras that the Emperor Shāh Ālam was dead (1712), and the succession was disputed by many a claimant. How Jahan Dar Shah obtained the throne and soon lost it and how Prince Furruckseer became the Emperor are narrated to us.[11] Concerning the new Emperor the following paragraph appears: " The New King is a young Man of about twenty-six years of age, he has the character of being brave, prudent and generous and is the last of the race of Aurengzeb except some young children, imprisoned in the Fortress of Goualeor where when once they have enter'd they never come out, have potions given to them to destroy their sences, this seems to be the king for whom, Providence has designed your Present, which leads

[6] Diary and Consultation Book of 1709 (Madras, 1929), *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[10] Despatches to England 1711-14, p. 6. (Madras, 1929).

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141.

us to touch upon that Affair ".[12] In the course of the Despatch and in continuation of the above extract, we are told that the President and his Council, Bengal, made arrangements to send the Present, now a little reduced in bulk and consequently in value, on to Patna under the safe custody of one Cojah Serhad, an Armenian. It is thus concluded: " Now all our hope is, that the present King will have some Consideration for us, on Account of the sum of Mony so readily supplyd him with upon his March from Patna to Agra, which he then said (or at least we are told so) he would never forgett ".[13]

How this hope of the Governor Edward Harrison was realised could be seen from the result. The Present which was originally planned by Governor Pitt to be delivered to the Emperor Shāh Ālam during his stay at Golconda was delivered after nearly ten years to the Emperor Furruckseer early in the year 1717. It bears out the truth of the proverb that man proposes but God disposes. Though it was only a question of time still the original proposal became ripened into fruition for the Moghul King issued three *farmans* in February 1717, for Madras, Bengal, and Surat respectively. These authorised the respective councils and its Presidents to exercise certain rights and privileges besides confirming their old rights. The chief aims of all three Governments of the Company in Bengal, Madras and Bombay, were achieved. So far as Madras was concerned it got back the five new villages which were for the past few years under the Native Government. Three days after the issue of the *farman* by the Imperial Government there was a day of feast and festivity. It was on the 24th of July 1717, that the contents of the document were given out with ceremonials characteristic of the occasion. With what amount of jubilation the document was received is graphically described by Love: " The whole garrison was under arms and one company was drawn up before the West Gate of the Inner Fort where the *farman* lay in the Governor's state palanquin. The Mayor and Aldermen were in attendance mounted. On the arrival of the Governor (now Joseph Collet) the *farman* was read in English by the Secretary and afterwards in Urdu and Telugu by the Chief Dubash to the assembled inhabitants. Mr Francis Hugonin, the Chief Gunner, fired a salute of 151 guns from the White Town, beginning at " St Thomàs Bastion " after which the fire was taken up by the ships in the roads ". [14] Then it is said that the *farman* was taken round the busy streets and centres of the city in procession accompanied by English Music. ' The Day Concluded with feasting of the soldiers with Tubs of Punch and a Bonfire at Night and the Black Merchants, to show their joy at the Honourable Company's receiving so much favour from the Mogul, made abundance of fire-works upon the Island ". [15]

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[12] Despatches to England 1711-14, pp. 141-142.

[13] *Ibid*. p. 142.

[14] Vestiges of Madras, Vol. II, p. 110.

[15] *Ibid*., p. 111.

A Note on the Letters of the Hon'ble East India Company, addressed to Rajah Jogi Jagannadharao Bahadur, exhibited at the 12th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

(By R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.)

Introductory.

In January 1757 the famous battle of Bobbili was fought in which both Rangarao and Vizairamaraju, rulers of Bobbili and Vizainagaram respectively, were killed. Subsequently on hearing this news and on Mons. Bussy's affront to Anandaraju, the successor to the throne of Vizainagaram, the latter resolved to break off the treaty made with the French and to drive them out of Northern Circars by inviting the English. Anandaraju therefore wrote to the English General, Robert Clive, at Calcutta, who therefore sent Col. Forde to help the ruler of Vizainagaram. Col. Forde soon made a treaty with him and drove out the French from Northern Circars. A vivid account of the battle of Chendurthi fought in December 1758 and the pursuit of the French army by the English and the Vizainagaram forces is given in the local records. A treaty was made between Col. Forde and Anandagajapathi of Vizainagaram through the mediation of John Andrews by which the East India Company received a large amount. Next Col. Forde captured Masulipatam from the French and made a treaty with Salabat Jang by which the latter handed over Masulipatam and its neighbouring lands to the English and undertook to drive out the French from the country. In return, the English recognised the Nizam's power over the Northern Circars.

Correspondence.

It was after these events in 1759, and during the time of the Hon'ble George Pigot, Governor of Fort St George, that the Company employed Jogi **Jagannadharao and his brother as interpretors (Dwi Bhāshi or Dubāsh) to** the Chief and Council stationed at Masulipatam. At that time they used their best endeavour to put the Chiefs in possession of the past history and manners of the country.

On the death of Salabat Jung, the throne of Hyderabad passed into the hands of Mir Nizam Ally Khan who ruled from 1761 to 1803. It was during this Nizam's reign that the Hon'ble East India Company of Fort St. George made efforts to take for rent the Five Circars. In 1764 the Governor of Fort St. George tried to rent the Five Circars namely, (1) Kondaveedu or Murthuja-Nagar, (2) Ellore, (3) Musthafa-Nagar or Kondapalli, (4) Rajamundri, (5) Chicacole. For negotiating matters with Nizam Ally Khan, Jogi Pantuloo

was chosen and sent to Hyderabad in the same year as an ambassador on behalf of the Company, with requisite honours of rank suited for the purpose. Jogi Pantuloo succeeded in his trials and the Company obtained the Circars for rent.

At the same time, on Jogi Pantuloo's laying before the Nizam his claims to succeed to the offices of Muzumdar and Sur Sheristadar of Rajahmundry Circar, Nizam Ally Khan was pleased to restore him to the said offices by means of a fresh *sanad* and conferred on him the titles of Rajah and Bahadur. The above grant was confirmed by the Hon'ble East India Company by means of a *sanad* of the President and Council of Fort St George. At the same time, the Hon'ble East India Company imposed special trust in Rajah Jogi Jagannadharao Bahadur in consideration of allegiance and steady attachment which he manifested to the Hon'ble East India Company. *Vide* Kowl granted by the Government of Fort St George to the Rajah Bahadur in February 1770.

In 1772 Jogi Pantuloo died. His brother Venkatarayalu was allowed to succeed to the offices in 1773. In 1778 these offices were abolished. But in 1781 Venkatarayalu was again reinstated in his former stations and granted the necessary *sanad* and Kowl.

Revenue Administration of Berar in the Reign of Aurangzeb (1679 A.D.)

(Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B.)

1. *Introductory.*—In this short note it is intended to describe the revenue system and its administration in the Subahs of the Deccan in the middle of the long reign of the illustrious Emperor Aurangzeb. Accounts sheets of Papal, a small perganah of Berar, prepared for the year 1090 *Fasli* approximately corresponding with the year 1679 A.D. have been taken as basis for discussion. These sheets are original and are deposited in manuscript in the Collection of the Sharadashram, Yeotmal, and were secured from the family of the Deshpandia of the perganah, which was responsible for collection of its revenue and for the maintenance of its account. This fact will speak for the veracity of the account sheets above referred to.

2. *Condition of Berar.*—Malikambar, the famous Abyssinian Minister of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom, had tried to improve the condition of the agriculturists of the Province but devastations caused by famine and the incessant wars made the country desolate and the condition of the peasantry very precarious. The same state continued also up to the reign of Shahjahan, so

much so that the officers could realize hardly one-third of the assessed revenue at the time when Aurangzeb assumed charge of the Viceroyalty of the Deccan for the 2nd time. The Mughal possessions in the Deccan were then a heavy burden on the Mughal Empire as it was often times necessary to have a demand on the treasury of the Empire for maintenance of the Mughal rule in the Deccan. Aurangzeb was sent to the Deccan as Viceroy in 1653 A.D. with a special mission of improving the condition of the Deccan Subahs by encouraging agriculture, which was the only source of income to the people and hence to the State.

3. *New Revenue System.*—Nearly such was the state of the country and people in the Deccan when Aurangzeb came there as its Viceroy for the 2nd time. Along with him came Murshid Quli Khan as Diwan of Balaghat. After three years of his stay, charge of his was extended to the Payanghat also and thus he became Diwan of the whole of the Mughal Deccan. Efforts of these two noble personages led to the improvement of the Deccan and both the State and the people were benefited by the general prosperity, which was the result of the revenue system and administration introduced by them in the above province.

4. *Improvements made.*—The new Diwan's reform consisted in extending Todarmal's revenue system to the Deccan. He could have achieved nothing without the full support of Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan. The first work, they had to do, was to attract the scattered people to populate villages and restore them to normal life by giving them concessions. Village officers were reinstated or newly appointed. The ryots were given *Takavi* from the public treasury for purchase of seed, bullocks, other needful material of agriculture and even for making embankments for irrigation, where necessary, the *takavi* loan being recoverable at the harvest time by easy instalments. Everywhere wise Amins and honest Surveyors were deputed to measure the land, to prepare the record of well marked-out holdings, and to distinguish arable land from rocky soils and water courses. The land was measured by chains and record of holdings was made. The introduction of system for recovery of Revenue, also inspired into the ryots a spirit of confidence and this led to the increase of revenue as a natural result of these improvements.

5. *System of revenue collection.*—It was only at the backward part of the country that the old system of recovery, on the basis of a plough, was allowed to exist but there too, a peasant knew what proportion he had to pay as revenue. At many other places a system of metayership or sharing of the actual produce was introduced. For this there were three rates—

(*i*) where the crop depended on rainfall, the state took one half of it,

(*ii*) where agriculture depended on well irrigation, the state took one-third of grain and one-third to one-fourth in other high priced crop which required vast labour and expenses.

(*iii*) where the field was irrigated from canals, the proportion of revenue to the crop varied from the revenue of well irrigation, according to special circumstances, sometimes lower and sometimes higher.

The third system of collection of revenue was copied from the system prevalent in the Northern India. The Revenue at the fixed rate of so many rupees per bigha was assessed and collected after considering the quantity and quality of the crop from seed time to harvest and its market price, and actually measuring the sown area. Hence its name of *Jarib* (survey). Under Murshid Quli this became the prevalent system in the subahs of Mughal Deccan, and was known for centuries afterwards as " the dhara of Murshid Quli Khan ". This excellent system, with constant vigilance and supervision, led to the improvement of agriculture and increase of revenue in a few years.

6. *System continued in Aurangzeb's reign.*—Even after the ascension of Aurangzeb to the Throne of Delhi as Emperor, the same revenue system prevailed and under the regime of the later subahdars the Mughal Deccan came into prosperous condition on account of the well established rule of the Mughals. 1679 A.D. the year, to which the revenue statement under consideration belongs, was approximately the 21st year of the reign of Aurangzeb and the Province of Berar, in which the perganah of Papal was included, was enjoying full prosperity under the efficient Mughal rule. The revenue statement discussed below will bear testimony to it.

7. *Officers of Perganah and villages and their duties.*—Among the perganah officers are mentioned the Qazi, the Deshmukh and Deshpandia. The Deshpandia of the perganah also held the office of Pandia (village writer) Sabnavis, Dange, Patki, Mahajan, and Naikwadi. Qazi had to maintain the Masjid, administer law and certify copies of documents with his seal. The Deshmukh had to maintain order, protect property from raids and collect revenue for the state, the Deshpandia had also to help in maintenance of order, to be responsible for collection of revenue and to maintain public account. Sabnavis was a head clerk and his business was to pay the Sibandi and public servants of his charge. Dange or Dangia was a custom officer and was subordinate to a Patki. Patki was an officer in charge of a Pathak or a body of horse. Mahajan was an officer generally a trader whose business was to superintend the trade and assist in collecting tax in the village and Naikwadi was an office of the headman or controller of revenue sepoys in a village. All these offices such as Sabnavis and others were nominal and it was customary to mention them in the statement.

Officers of a village were Mukadam and a Pandia. The Mukadam was Patel or headman of the village who was to maintain law and order in the village and was responsible to collect revenue of the State. Pandia was also to help in the collection of revenue and was responsible to maintain accounts of the village. Qazi held inam land for his services especially for the masjid.

Deshmukh, Deshpandia and Mukadam held some inam land, in addition to certain share in land, also cash allowance out of the revenue as remuneration for their services. Deshpandia who was also Pandia was to get some percentage in the revenue of the village.

8. *Table of measure and coin used.*—Before we proceed to discuss the detailed statement it would be interesting to note the measure of the land and also the currency. Land was measured by chain but the minimum standard was a Kathi or a stick which was usually of 5 cubits in length in this part of Berar. A square Kathi thus would be 5 cubits by 5 cubits. 20 square Kathis made one Pand, 20 such pands would make one bigha and 9 bighas make one Netan. The word bigha is derived from Sanskrit word Vigraha. If we take one cubit equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet, area of present one acre is less than two bighas by 1,440 square feet. In the statement under consideration pands, bighas and netans are used to show area of land. Current coin at that time was silver rupee or gold Hona, but in the statement amount is given in Takas. 4 Takas make one rupee. A Taka again is divided into 48 parts which are called dams. For the sake of convenience we may take one dam equal to one pie.

9. *Division of land and its distribution.*—We take the land at Papal, the perganah head quarter for study. Total area of land in the village was 732 netans, 8 bighas and 18 pands out of which land measuring 146 netans, 5 bighas and 3 pands was forest or left out for grazing purposes and land measuring 586 netans, 3 bighas and 15 pands was under cultivation. Out of the total land of the village 712 netans, 7 bighas and 16 pands were land of dry crop (jirat) and 20 netans, 1 bigha and 20 pands as garden land. Total area of the village was again divided as below :—

585 netans, 7 bighas and 9 pands as Khalsa land and 147 netans, 1 bigha and 9 pands as inam land. Of the Khalsa land 146 netans, 5 bighas and 3 pands were grazing land. 16 netans, 8 bighas and 16 pands were garden land while 422 netans, 2 bighas and 10 pands were jirati land and 3 netans, 1 bigha and 1 pand were garden land.

The inam land was distributed among the officers as follows :—

Deshmukh held land measuring 64 netans, 6 bighas, 5 pands out of which one netan was garden land. Deshpandia held 7 netans, 4 bighas, 10 pands, out of which 4 bighas and 10 pands were garden land. The Mukadam held 68 netans, 4 bighas and 4 pands out of which 1 netan, 5 bighas and 16 pands were garden land. Out of this inam land 6 netans, 4 bighas and 10 pands were described as charity (khairati) land and it was held as follows :—

4 netans by Qazi of the pergana and 2 netans, 4 bighas and 10 pands by the Joshi or Hindu priest of the pergana.

10. *Division of land for the purpose of assessment.*—The whole land of the village was again divided for the purpose of assessment, into two parts, *viz.*, land measuring 141 netans, 4 bighas and 5 pands as unculturable land while land measuring 591 netans, 4 bighas and 13 pands was culturable land. Out of the culturable land, 9 netans, 4 bighas and 10 pands were exempted from assessment as Inam palnuk (protected inam). Out of this land 7 netans, 4 bighas and 10 pands were with the Deshpàndia and 2 netans were with the Qazi. Now the remaining culturable land measuring 582 netans and 3 pands was again divided into three grades for the purpose of assessing it on different rates

Land measuring 19 netans, 2 bighas and 12 pands as garden land. Land measuring 535 netans, 3 bighas and 17 pands as purely dry crop land, land measuring 1 netan, 6 bighas and 3 pands as irrigated land and land measuring 25 netans, 5 bighas and 11 pands as temporary irrigated land.

Thus the whole culturable and assessable land was assessed to 10,635 takas and 44½ dams.

11. *Exemption from assessment.*—Now though the whole culturable land exclusive of Palmuk Inam, was assessed to the above amount, the whole land did not fetch revenue as already mentioned; some land was granted as Inam, so the assessment to that land was remitted to the inam holders. The total remission comes to 10 per cent. of the assessment of the Khalsa land, *i.e.*, 966 takas, 47 dams are remitted, while 9,668 takas and 45½ dams are total recoveries. Out of the remitted amount 290 Takas, 3 dams are remission to Deshmukh and 676 takas, 44 dams are remission for land of Mukadams, Qazis, and Joshis and also the land which was uncultivated or grazing reserve land.

12. *Charges on the land revenue.*—Now out of the actual realizations of 9,668 takas 45½ dams an amount of 134½ takas went to Deshmukh as cash allowance for his office, 1,334½ takas went to Deshpandia as cash allowance for his office, and 100 takas were reserved for *chiragh* (lamp light). The amount which was reserved for charities was probably meant for lights in the public chaori, Sarai, Masjid and temples of deities like Hanuman and others. This amount was at the disposal of Deshmukh who had full control over it.

After deducting all these items the net revenue, which was ready for sending to the Government treasury or to the Jagirdar, to whom the perganah was allotted, was 9,299 takas, 45½ dams.

13. *Details of the whole Perganah.*—In this way we can give the details of land and the revenue assessed for each of the villages in the perganah, but the details of one village is sufficient to give an idea of the system then prevalent. It would, however, be interesting to know the details of the whole perganah in short.

The area of the whole perganah was 2,158 netans, 1 bigha and 19 pands. 505 netans, 7 bighas and 1 pand were non-culturable land and out of this non-

culturable land 430 netans, 2 bighas and 10 pands were utilized as grazing land. The remaining land measuring 1,652 netans, 3 bighas and 18 pands was culturable land, out of which 9 netans, 4 bighas and 10 pands was exempted from assessment as palnuk inam (protected inam).

The land revenue of the remaining land measuring 1,642 netans, 8 bighas and 8 pands amounted to 28,475 takas and 7 dams. Out of this amount, assessment of Inam land, which comes to 2,591 takas and $15\frac{1}{2}$ dams, is remitted as follows:—

773 takas 47 dams to Deshmukh and 1,823 takas and 9 dams to Mukadams. There remains now 25,877 takas and $27\frac{1}{2}$ dams as net revenue; add to this 800 takas revenue of hundisari (contract) village Nimgawhan, then the total revenue of the perganah comes to 26,677 takas and $27\frac{1}{2}$ dams. Out of this amount 691 takas are distributed equally as remuneration in cash to the Deshmukh, Deshpandia and Mukadams and 100 takas are reserved with Deshmukh for charity, etc. The net revenue ready for the Government treasury or for the Jagirdar as is the case, amounts to 25,886 takas and $27\frac{1}{2}$ dams.

14. *Net result of the study.*—The net result of the study of the above figures can be summarised as follows:—

Unculturable land was excluded from assessment; nearly $\frac{1}{4}$th of the land was reserved for grazing purposes and thus large number of cattle could be maintained for manure, etc. Deshmukh, Mukadam and Deshpandia used to get land as inam, the revenue of which was ten per cent. of the Khalsa land. The rate of assessment was different for different kinds of land, such as garden land, dry crop land and irrigated land. Average land revenue of the land was about $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 takas per bigha. In addition to the Inam land, the Deshmukh, Deshpandia and Mukadam were receiving cash allowance from the revenue at the rate of nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

15. *Conclusions arrived at.*—Discussion of the above statement shows that the land was measured, the revenue was settled and the regular statements were submitted, so as to form a definite idea of the revenue which was received by the State or by its Jagirdars.

16. *Attempt to secure these statements and other records.*—There is a vast field for research about the revenue system and administration of villages in the various reigns and dynasties of different periods inasmuch as such revenue statements are available in the families of Deshpandias and Moharirs who were responsible for keeping accounts of the perganahs and for submitting revenue statements to the Subadars. These statements and other records are in neglected state in such families and unless efforts are made to secure them and to make them available for studies by scholars they will be permanently

lost. The Sharadashram of Yeotmal has made a beginning to secure such statements and other records and the whole collection of the institute is at the disposal of scholars who desire to make its use.

17. *Acknowledgment to Sir J. N. Sarkar.*—I conclude this short note with a grateful acknowledgment of the fact that the introductory portion of this writing has been composed on the basis of the information about condition of revenue in Berar by Sir J. N. Sarkar in his first volume of *Aurangzeb.* We can not obtain such reliable and first hand information anywhere else. Sir J. N. Sarkar has made use of the Persian records which were prepared in those times and inasmuch as Berar was under the sway of the Mughal Emperors, we know very little about the administration of Berar from the published Marathi writings.

An Early Historian of the East India Company : Dr. John Peter Wade.

(By S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L.)

During the latter half of the eighteenth century there was an insistent regret on the part of the East India Company that " they knew little more of the interior parts of Nepal and of Assam than of the interior parts of China ".[1] And the distinguished orientalist Horace Hayman Wilson attributed this ignorance to Assam " having been closed against the inquiries of the Company's officers by the inherent physical deformities, the barbarous habits of the people, the jealousy of their chiefs and the unwillingness of the Indian Government to sanction any enterprise of their servants which might inspire doubt of their designs in the minds of the rulers of the adjacent regions ".[2] So when a contingent of British forces came to Assam in 1792 at the express invitation of the Ahom King Gaurinath Singha, the Governor-General commanded Captain Welsh who was in charge of the expedition that " no pains should be spared to avail ourselves of so favourable an opportunity to obtain good surveys and to acquire every information that may be possible, both of the population, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants as well as the trade and manufactures, and natural productions of countries with which it must ever be our interest to maintain the most friendly communication ".[3] The result of this minute from the administrative head of the Company in India was the preparation of a number of maps of Assam by Ensign Wood who accompanied the expedition as Surveyor, and the compilation of three monographs by Dr. John Peter Wade dealing with the history, geography, resources and trades of

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[1] *Capt. Welsh's Expedition to Assam in 1792-94*, by Lt.-Col. J. Johnstone, p. 11.
[2] *History of British India*, Vol. III.
[3] *Capt. Welsh's Expedition to Assam*, quoted *ante*.

the province and customs of the people. As regards Nepal, an embassy was despatched under Captain Kirkpatrick. Captain Welsh embodied his observations on Assam in his numerous despatches to the Governor General.[4]

Dr Wade came to Assam as Assistant Surgeon attached to the expedition of Captain Welsh on Rs. 150 a month as we learn from the account of the expenses of the expedition published in Mackenzie's *North-East Frontier of Bengal.* Before this he had served with ability—in different places in Northern and Southern India, Berhampore, Calcutta, Benares, Surat, Chunagarh, and Chunar. He had published a number of medical treatises. One, entitled " Prevention and Treatment of the Disorders of Seamen and Sailors in Bengal ", was published in 1793, a copy of which is now in the Imperial Library at Calcutta. Another treatise on fevers compiled almost at the same time was probably unpublished, a copy of the manuscript in Wade's own handwriting being now deposited at the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta. John Laird, President of the Hospital Board at Calcutta wrote on February 15, 1796.—" Dr Wade has at all times conducted himself with the strictest propriety and attention to his duty. His medical publications sufficiently evince his industry and professional abilities".[5] J. Fleming testified to Wade's tenderness and humanity to the sick. Besides his normal efficiency as a Surgeon, Wade was also the author " of the evacuating system which he recommends as the basis of all sound practice in the disorders of warm climates ".[6] His honesty as a servant of the Company was best shown in his refusal to accept the request of the Company's authorities that he should take charge of the business concern of a particular English merchant in Assam. Wade's ground for refusal was to the effect that as a servant of the Company he should not violate the Company's general regulation prohibiting its servants from engaging themselves in trade on private account.[7] Wade was a hardworking man and himself characterised his life as one of strenuous labour. He died at Calcutta on October 14, 1802, and his remains lie buried in the Old Cemetery of that city.

During his stay in Assam Dr Wade collected materials for a history and geography of Assam on the terms laid down by the Governor-General in his minute to Captain Welsh. But unfortunately none of his historical compilations saw the light of day during the life-time of the author. His papers and correspondence were handed over to the East India House by Sir John Malcolm in 1827 and passed subsequently through the editorial eclecticism of Montgomery Martin. The present article is based on the manuscript records of the India Office lent to the Government of Assam and to me.

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[4] The Ms. record containing Welsh's account of the Government of Assam was exhibited at the Calcutta Sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission; it has been printed in Mackenzie's *North-East Frontier of Bengal.*

[5] India Office Ms. record, containing the testimonials given to Wade by his superiors, hitherto unpublished.

[6] India Office Ms. records, *ibid.*, opinion of Dr W. Ross Mumg(?), Head Surgeon at Berhumpore, dated November 1, 1795.

[7] Ms. record at the Imperial Record Dept., Calcutta.

The Wade papers at the India Office library can be grouped under three major heads,—his *Account of Assam*, *Geographical Sketch of Assam*, and the testimonials which he submitted to the Hon'ble Court of Directors on April 8, 1796, as proofs that he was not "altogether unworthy of their favour". Besides we also get there a reference to another valuable historical monograph, *viz.*, his history of the reign of Gaurinath Singha, and to his plan of compiling an account of the civil, military and ecclesiastical government of Assam.

1. Memoir of the Reign of King Gaurinath Singha.

Swargadeo Gaurinath Singha was the Ahom sovereign at whose instance the expedition under Captain Welsh was sent to Assam in 1792 to put a stop to the marauding activities of Bengal barkandazes. The Captain and his Surgeon both came in personal contact with this monarch and Wade's history of his reign would have been an invaluable contemporary document. The Assamese had the great distinction of recording the events of the country as they happened, and besides his personal knowledge of the King and the Ahom Court, Wade had access also to the indigenous accounts of the Sovereign's reign. He completed this history in 1796, soon after the death of Gaurinath, and sent it in April 1796 to the press in Europe for printing with the approbation of Lord Teignmouth. The author wrote in his dedicatory preamble to his *Account of Assam*, addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Kirkpatrick,—"The curious and interesting circumstances relating to Assam are exhibited, at some length, in the continuation of the history, containing the reign of the late Monarch Swargadeo Gaurinath Singha. I have compiled the memoir of his reign from authentic documents, and despatched the book to Europe for publication in April 1796, with the approbation of Lord Teignmouth; but I have not as yet received any account of it, and not having retained a copy I am deprived of the pleasure of sending it to you". Kishenganj, Bengal, March 20, 1800.

The same note of regret was sounded in his epistolary introduction to his *Geographical Sketch of Assam*, dated July 4, 1802, addressed in all likelihood to the same redoubtable Colonel,—"I regret the Europe Press has not yet enabled me to offer you a copy of the hitsory of Maharaja Surgedeo, late monarch of Assam". The author died three months after, with the result that his valuable account of the Assamese King has been lost to the world for ever. The book perhaps was never published as it is not mentioned in the numerous advertisements of books inserted in the earlier volumes of the J. A. S. B., and neither the India Office, nor the Royal Asiatic Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library and the Cambridge University Library has been able to offer any clue which may lead to the recovery of the original manuscript or a printed copy of the same.

The only evidence of the style and treatment of the book has fortunately been preserved for us in a few stray leaves bound with the manuscript of his *Geographical Sketch*. This fragmentary passage gives us an accurate glimpse into the character of the Prime Minister, Purnananda Buragohain, whose high-handed usurpation of the powers of the sovereign and the bestowal of high offices on his kinsmen and adherents irritated a very strong section of the Assamese, and led to several conspiracies and intrigues to overthrow his supremacy and restore the legitimate authority of the monarch. This was the subject-matter of the complaint which Bandachandra Barphukan made before the British Governor General in Calcutta and subsequently before the Burmese King Bodawpaya at Ava. This contemporary verdict on the character of Purnananda is not however accepted by the present generation of Assamese to whom he is a great statesman, and the only person whc was capable of averting the impending downfall of the country. The language of this piece is *journalese,* if not epical, and approaches the sonorous rhythm of Gibbon and of other prose-writers of the latter half of the eighteenth century. Wade's conjecture[1] as to what could be achieved by a possible British alliance with Assam is also interesting in the light of the subsequent history of the province.

The subject matter of this fragmentary piece is the contest waged by the Manipuri King Jai Singha, now a powerful ally of the Ahom monarch Gaurinath Singha, who came to Assam a second time in 1792 at the express invitation of the premier Purnananda, at the head of an army of four thousand Manipuri soldiers. The Manipuri Raja and his son Juvaraj Madhuchandra were received by the Prime Minister at Dichoi or Jorhat to which place the Ahom headquarters were shifted as Rangpur was in the occupation of the rebels. The Buragohain personally conducted the Raja and his son to Teok where he had previously thrown up two stockades. From

[1] *Wade's prophetic remarks.*—"Before we take our final leave of the Moamarias we may venture to prophesy that the mere name of the British Government will, at any time, prove sufficient to repress the overt resistance of the Boora-Gohaign or the Moamarias, although every kind of secret counteraction may be expected from those who derive advantage from the destruction and desolation of the country. The miserable band of cowardly and undisciplined peasants amounting, perhaps, to six or seven hundred men, armed with awkward weapons, which they dare not and cannot use, the small body of unwilling and unpaid burkenduzes not exceeding the number of sixty or seventy Bengal subjects which form his mighty army, would scarcely venture to oppose a single company of sepoys armed with the name of Swargadeo. It is necessary to distinguish between the man and his title. Gaurinath is a tyrant they fear; but every rank of subjects holds the race and the awful authority of Swargadeo in a degree of veneration, scarcely to be paralleled in history. The Boora-Gohaign himself affects to rule his districts in the name of Swargadeo, and we may freely believe that the meanest peasant would be gratified by Swargadeo's restoration to his throne and capital if he were promised a permanent protection against the tyranny of Gaurinath and his ministers. In a former part of this narrative we have observed the extreme dislike of the people of Bossa-Doyungh to the Boora-Gohaign. The character of the man authorises us to believe that his government cannot be more popular among the inhabitants who reside nearer his person. If he might dare to oppose, he must assuredly experience a general defection of all, except his personal adherents and connections. But we cannot possibly suppose the Gohaign to be destitute of common sense"............ ......(unfinished).

Teok the Raja was despatched against the Moamarias. Jai Singha chased the rebels and encamped at Gaurisagar. From the latter place Madhuchandra marched towards Rangpur, being followed afterwards in the same direction by his old and valorous father. The Manipuri forces could not foresee the secret movements of the rebels whose guerilla methods had already baffled the highly organised military tactics of the Ahom generals. Jai Singha returned to his dominions after leaving a contingent of one thousand Manipuris in the service of the Buragohain. Wade's account agrees in all particulars with what we have come across in Assamese chronicles. The Rajah and the Prince mentioned in Wade's narrative are Rajah Jai Singh of Manipur and his son Madhuchandra respectively.

2. An Account of Assam.

The materials for this book were collected by Wade during his residence in Assam. He worked at them after his departure from the province, and submitted the final copy to Colonel Kirkpatrick with a dedicatory letter, dated Kishengunj, March 20, 1800. The book was mainly a translation of two Assamese chronicles of the Ahom sovereigns, one written in Assamese and the other in the now obsolete Ahom language. The Assamese chronicle was presented to Captain Welsh, and the Bailoong or Ahom one to Lord Teignmouth, as we learn from the letter to Kirkpatirck. These chronicles are known among the Assamese as *Buranjis*, and there were systematic arrangements for compiling them under the commission of the State or by individual scholars.[1] The Ahom Buranji used by Wade was known as *Roo-poot*, literally, ' a book of knowledge ', and was compiled by one Manohar, head of the Ahom priestly clan the Bailoongs, under the orders of King Siva Singha, 1714-1744. The royal orders were communicated to the historiographer in the following significant terms,—" That the histories of the King's predecessors should be compiled, the succession of Ahom monarchs mentioned in details, and the book should be called *Roo-poot;* that the history should only contain the names and transactions of the Swargadeos or Ahom Kings ".

Wade's account deals also with the history of the three successors of Siva Singha,—*viz.*, Pramatta Singha, 1744-51, Rajeswar Singha, 1751-69, and Lakshmi Singha, 1769-80. It commences with the usual legendary account of the descent of the Ahoms into Assam. Separate chapters are devoted to the kins of ancient Kamarupa, of Cooch Behar and to the Mogul wars of Assam, and the functions of the state officials. For the reign of the Ahom kings from the earliest times to Siva Singha, Wade's source-book was certainly the *Roo-poot;* and for the rest he must have consulted the Assamese

[1] For further information regarding Assamese buranjis, see the present writer's,—(1) *Assamese Historical Literature*, pub. in " Indian Historical Quarterly " for September 1929; (2) *New Lights on Mogul India from Assamese Sources*, Introduction, pub. in " The Islamic Culture," Hyderabad, Deccan, for July 1928, pp. 324-27; (3) *Ahomar Din*, pp. 89-92; and (4) *History of the Reign of Rajeswar Singha*, Chapter III, *Banhi*, Vol. XV.

chronicle subsequently presented to Captain Welsh, as we have ourselves come across buranjis dealing with the same subjects a copy of which was the original before Dr. Wade.

Wade's translations are generally faithful; but they do not constitute a history in the modern sense of the term. The Assamese buranjis, whether in popular Assamese or in Ahom are mutually supplementary, rather than exhaustive. One buranji does not, for example, mention a particular detail in the evolution of a historical theme, or makes only a casual reference to it; this missing link will be taken up by another chronicler who will do ample justice to it, and elaborate it into thirty folios. This varying sense of proportion is due to the social and political environments of the compiler, the audience for whom his account is intended, no less to the fact of his possessing other buranjis which fully deal with the detail which he passes over. The scientific historian will have to collate his materials from as many buranjis as possible, and from other sources of information, such as epigraphic, numismatic and literary records. The importance of Wade's compilation lies in its being an invaluable source-book written from materials recorded in a language which was then far beyond the comprehension of any servant of the East India Company.

Wade was not satisfied by merely translating the original Assamese documents. Here and there he has adopted the interpretative method with the help of the information personally acquired during his stay of eighteen months in Assam. The following passage describing the functions of the Phukans could never occur in any Assamese buranji of those days,—

"In some respects the Phukans resemble the Judges of Israel. They not only command the armies, and minister the justice of the Kingdom, but also have a principal share in the public councils. Their opinions are received on all affairs of importance in the presence of the Monarch. This privilege, however, is confined to a decoration of their sentiments, for they possess not an effective vote like the Gohains. Yet the opinion of an eloquent man frequently influences the decrees of the Gohains. Eloquence is, therefore, in high estimation at court, and leads to fame and honours under the government, not in any degree democratic."

Dr. Wade has given us a novel though curious interpretation of the origin of the word *Asam* or *Ahom*. The consort of the King of the Naras, a Buddhist tribe living in the neighbourhood of Assam, was bearing a child through Indra. This child was to have the resemblance of his divine progenitor, and was destined to rule the earth. The celestial paramour visited the Queen in a dream, and asked her not to receive the embraces of her royal husband the King of Nara till the birth of the child. She asked Indra if he intended to come to her on which the god replied,—"*Ahim, Ahim*", literally meaning,—"I will come, I will come". The word *Ahom* or *Asam* is supposed to originate from this *Ahim*. The child in question was

known as Swarganarayan, and became the royal ancestor of the Ahoms. Swarganarayan or Swargadeo became in fact the common title of all the Ahom monarchs, indicating their divine origin.

The book contains an exhaustive treatment of the reign of Swargadeo Rudra Singha, 1696-1714, and of his colossal preparations to invade Bengal for the purpose of including the Ganges within the Ahom territories. The ambitious King's first step was to secure the submission of the neighbouring kingdoms, who were thereby compelled to contribute largely, in men and money, to the huge operations then in progress. Gauhati was appointed the place of rendezvous, where the King had personally retired with the army. Rudra Singha despatched ambassadors to the Nawabs and Princes of Bengal with letters expressed in the following terms.

" We formerly possessed the provinces on this side of the Karatoya river, and we are now desirous to resume them. Do not prove inimical to us. If we remain friendly everything will succeed. Be yours the countries, the Government and the revenue, and mine the name. Act in a manner to preserve peace. Fear not our approach, send friendly answers respecting your welfare without delay ".

The huge army of 6,60,000 men had to be reduced, and only the pick were selected to participate in the actual operations, and arrangements were made to send them in advance to the bank of the river Manas. But as fate would have it, this great scheme for bringing the neighbouring provinces within the fold of Ahom supremacy, magnificent as it was in its conception, fell through owing to the sudden death of the royal dreamer. The death-bed injunction of the mighty monarch to his five sons bespeaks his wisdom and ambition :—

' Take your seats; remain in friendship, you will be monarchs in your turns. Nothing will succeed if you are inimical to one another. If any attempts are made to place you at variance, and many will be made, listen not to suggestions of that kind, but remain united. I had formerly two (one ?) brothers but listening to the suggestions of the enemies I drove away the younger. I now perceive my error. Continue therefore in friendship, and all your pursuits will succeed; if you prove enemies, nothing. Old and young you shall all be Kings successively. I have subdued the countries that surround my dominions. I proposed the reduction of the provinces contiguous to the Karatoya river, but my design will perish with me, for who will be found capable to pursue my plans? '

As we have said, Dr Wade ends his history in the events of the reign of Lakshi Singh, 1769-1780, the youngest son of Rudra Singha. But Gaurinath Singha, 1780-1795, with whom our author came in personal contact has not been ignored.

The second part of the book is devoted entirely to the origin and history of Kamrup from the earliest times down to Captain Welsh's expedition. The

reigns of the descendants of Biswa Singha in Cooch Behar and elsewhere have been detailed elaborately. The chronicle is brought down to Krishna Narayan the claimant to the kingship of Darrang, who came in conflict with Captain Welsh. Reference is also made to the insurrection of the Moamarias in Darrang and of Haradatta in Kamrup.

The third part deals with the wars between Assam and Bengal, including the expeditions sent to Assam at the instance of the Emperor of Delhi. Fourteen expeditions were despatched from Bengal and Delhi to bring Assam within the pale of Mogul sovereignty, but never could the Imperial invaders secure a firm footing in the land. The valour and military craft of the Assamese people were eulogised by successive Mahomedan generals. The last Mahomedan expedition was undertaken in the second year of the reign of King Gadadhar Singha, 1681-1696, but the invaders were completely defeated in the battle of Itakhuli, near Gauhati, and had to abandon a great quantity of valuable plunders to the victors. Thus ended the long series of hostilities between the Assamese and the invaders from Bengal and Delhi, and the latter never afterwards attempted to coerce or subjugate the province.[10]

3. Geographical Sketch of Assam.

This is by far the most important of the compilations of Wade. It deals with the divisions and districts of Assam as grouped for administrative purposes by the Ahom Government The natural products and manufactures of the country are mentioned *en passant*. He also refers to the religious institutions and social customs of the people. The chapters on the river system, vegetable products of Assam are contributions of permanent importance.

The dedicatory letter attached to the manuscript is undated, while a copy of the same found with his testimonials bears the date July 4, 1802. He had already submitted his *Account of Assam* in March 1800. The letter begins,—"Permit me to send you a few sheets on the Georgraphy of a Country entirely unexplored by Europeans before the late Deputation, which I had the pleasure to attend. These pages are chiefly translations from original documents in the Assamese language; but partly derived from the information of intelligent natives and partly from my own observation. Should these communications prove acceptable, I shall hope in a short time to present you with some account of the Civil, Military and Ecclesiastical Government of that Country which you will probably find more interesting than a full geographical detail". From the last sentence it is evident that Wade collected materials also for a systematic survey of the secular and religious institutions of Assam, besides the three books already mentioned. The materials which Dr. Wade had collected as the basis for this fourth compila-

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[10] The book has been printed through the enterprise of Messrs. B. Sarma and R. Sarma though its publication has been hanging fire for some time past.

tion have now been lost, while in his history and geography of Assam we find only a few scraps of information on the subject reserved for full treatment in the book contemplated. The reason is obvious. Wade died a few months after writing the above letter and naturally the notes he had collected for the book could not be given a definite literary shape.

The manuscript of Dr Wade's *Geographical Sketch* represents the author's first draft, embodying the notes which he took from his informant, an Assamese Pundit, and from the original Assamese documents referred to in the above letter. Some chapters are however, available in an improved fashion, evidently representing the author's final version. The comparative finish of the final version as contrasted with the crudeness of the earlier one will be evident from the following extracts relating to Haboong reproduced verbatim:—

First Draft.—" Long 1½ day broad 3 prahars, better soil than the other, more rice, much more tambool pan and Moogah, much cuttal fruit, inhabitants chiefly Brahmuns, who cut fodder for Surgeedeas elephants but he liberated them from such menial services, they refused the compliment saying their ancestors had employed so and they must. 1 man here can eat at one meal the seeds 3 jackfruits, 2 seers of chaul, very fat and large people, with big bellies, wear very thick and large Brahminical strings the size of ropes of cotton, two tamools sell for one cowree, 40 pans large for 5 gandas. The Burrooah gives justice here ".

Final Version.—" Contiguous to Guzllong, still in an easterly direction lies Haboongh, which is thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth. The district is remarkable for the superior richness of the soil, and for the industry, size and appetite of the inhabitants."

We have two versions only in the case of Wade's description of the two major divisions of the Province, Uttarkul and Dakshinkul, and of the rivers of Assam. With regard to the rest only the first draft is available. It may be mentioned here that the earlier version contains a larger mass of information. Besides it has an archaic *naivetée* of its own, being representative of the unsophisticated methods adopted by the Assamese people of the later eighteenth century in describing places and men. The second version is also available in print in Montgomery Martin's " Eastern India ", Volume III, pages 637-640. Martin, whose eclectic methods have been seriously questioned in recent years adds the note:—" In order that the Assamese country may be better known, I insert here Dr Wade's descriptive geography —from papers deposited by the late Sir John Malcolm in the Library of the East India House in 1827 ".—p. 625.

The plan of the book has been set forth in the prefatory pages, but it underwent material variations in the actual drafts. Several sections which were outside the purview of the original plan found place in the narrative.

while several topics contemplated in the plan have been left out altogether. The plan was to deal with the following subjects.

Part I.—Divisions of the Kingdom:—

A. Uttarkul, or the Northern Division.

B. Dakhinkul, or the Southern Division.

C. Majuli or the great island.

D. Sub-divisions:—

(*a*) Upper Assam;

(*b*) Lower Assam.

Part II.—Rivers of Assam:—

A. Rivers flowing from the Northern Mountains.

B. Rivers flowing from the Southern Mountains.

C. The Brahmaputra and its branches.

Part III.—Frontiers of the Province.

A. Western Confines.

B. Northern Confines.

C. Southern Confines.

D. Eastern Confines.

E. Neighbouring Nations.

The first two parts are now available in the original manuscript. They have also been reproduced in Martin's "Eastern India". There is no trace of the third part except a few disjointed notes on the Mikirs and the Manipuris. This omission has, however, been compensated by the inclusion of notes on sundry topics here and there, which did not find any place in the original plan, the most important being the author's dissertation on the natural history of Assam, being notes on "vegetables collected October 6", which contain accounts of endi and muga silkworms besides others. Under this head of non-descript matter can be included the author's account of the Queen's death and burial at Gauhati; the funeral of Gosains; anecdotes of Kabir Gosain, "a Muhammadan much reverenced by all the Hindoo who sing the hymns of his composition", during whose residence at Hajo "a temple was formed by God"; route from Bengal to Ava through Assam; itinerary of Captain Welsh's expedition to Assam in 1792; princes of the southern provinces; names of chowkis or military and commercial outposts; Turner's Bhutan and Tibet; translation of a portion of the story relating to the origin of the name *Nilakantha*. The last few leaves of the book contain a disconnected account of the reign of Gaurinath Singha, which is certainly a fragment of the author's monograph on that monarch, as we have said before.

Dr Wade begins his book by mentioning his sources of information, Turner, D'Anville, DuHalde, Glanius, Chevalier, Rennell and Vansittart, besides the materials received from his Pundit and the Assamese documents. Kamrup and Darrang are then described with the necessary particulars of all the contiguous tracts. The jurisdictions of the Ahom officers are stated in precise terms besides the principal trades and the customs of the people.

Of the miscellaneous information supplied by Wade that about a Moslem priest offering worship on behalf of the Hinduised Ahom monarchs is worthy of note,—

Powa-Mecca Mosque at Hajo.—" A Nabob of Dhacca had a most holy peer or saint, who visited Mecca and brought back some of its earth. The Nabob requested the peer to deposit some at Hadjoo in Camroop, where he formed a pucka mosque."

" A Mussleman of the name of Newas was gooroo-general of his persuation in Assam, from about the time of Roodur Singha. He had numerous attendants dressed in the high Mussleman dress. He resided at or near the capital and frequented the durbar; and the Swargadeos used to despatch him to pray at Hadjoo after the Mussleman fashion for their prosperity. He was usually succeeded by his nearest relations. He and his family dissappeared on Swargadeo's flight (during the Moamaria disturbances). The latter has had no pooja since at Hadjoo. He was indulged with the privilege of riding on horseback, but not in a palki-dolah. Three or four priests always remained in attendance at the palace. The moment the king came forth to take the air, they called down the blessing of God on him with elevated hands. Whenever the Surgee sent this man to perform pooja for him at Mokam-Hadjoo, he always sent considerable presents to the temple, but they had no regular establishment from the Kings."

The Muhammadans in Assam call it Powa-Mecca, which is resorted to by pilgrims even up to this day. The following passage recording the educational facilities offered to the Muhammadans by the Ahom Kings is equally important,—

" The Mussleman burials are the same as in Bengal. There are ten or twelve houses of instruction for the children of Musslemans at Goahawtee; and more than twenty at Rungpoor, the capital of Assam. They are neither prohibited nor encouraged by the monarch to instruct youths and exercise their religion."[11]

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[11] Wade's *Geographical Sketch of Assam* has been carefully edited by the present writer by collating the different versions with a view to bring out the additional matter not inserted by Martin in his " Eastern India ". It is being published as a serial in " The Assam Review ", from its issue of December 1928, under the heading *Assam in the Eighteenth Century*. The miscellaneous information which has never been published has also been classified and inserted in my edition. Charles Stewart in his " History of Bengal " has made two references to Wade's account of Assam in his footnotes on pages 53 and 324, Bangabasi Edition. Some portion of Wade's compilations was also published in " Asiatic Annual Register " for 1805.

Dr Wâde did not live long to compile a history of Assam on scientific lines. No one was more conscious of the shortcomings than the author himself. His contact with Assam lasted for only eighteen months. The busy demands of his professional duties left him little leisure for historical pursuits. To this should be added the difficulty of finding a man at that time who knew English and Assamese. He must have received information from his Pundit in Hindi which was foreign to both the informer and the informed. He wrote in his preface to his *Geographical Sketch.*—

" Exclusively attached until the period in question, to the study and the practice of my profession, I had not acquired the requisite and scientific accomplishment which might have rendered my opportunities of acquiring geographical knowledge of more utility to government or to the public, yet I shall venture to hope that that the general and unscientific sketch of the country contained in the following sheets will not prove entirely unexceptionable when it is considered that no Europeans have ever explored or probably ever will explore the provinces of Assam, with the consent of the Government of that country."

Yet we have in the pages of this indefatigable doctor a mass of information which will be of invaluable help to all future workers in the field of Assamese history, as they were written by a critical western scholar who was at the same time an eye-witness of the existing machinery of the Ahom Government, before the catastrophic disruption brought about by the Avanese hordes of Mingimaha Bandula.

An account of the Vrindawan (वृंदावन) of Peshwa Bajirao I at Mauza Raverkhedi (Pergana Kannapore, British Nemar).

(By Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, M.A.)

Bajirao I and Nizam-ul-mulk.—A diplomatic struggle for the mastery of Malwa continued for years together between Peshwa Shrimant Bajirao I, and the Nizam. It was brought to a close by the treaty of Mungi Paithan on the 27th of February 1740, when " Hindia (हंडया) and Kirkoun (खरगोन) were conferred on Bajirao in Jagheer ". (Duff's *History of the Marathas,* Vol. I, P. 558, edition 1826.)

Bajirao's death at Raverkhedi.—Peshwa Shrimant Bajirao I died at Raverkhedi in the Khargone district on the 25th of April, 1740. (Sardesai-*Marathi Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag,* P. 428, edition 1920.)

His son's orders reerecting his father's vrindawan.—Peshwa Shrimant Nana Saheb (Bajirao's son) passed orders on the 6th of November 1740 to the entire village of Raverkhedi that " the whole revenue shall pass over to

Ranoji Shinde who is ordered to construct buildings (Vrindawan, etc.) at Mauza Raver (Pargana Kannapur, Samat Bijagurh) where our revered father breathed his last". (Balaji Bajirao's Diary, p. 99, *see* Appendix A.)

Further orders for the maintenance of the vrindawan.—Peshwa Shrimant Nana Saheb ordered on 2nd February, 1742 to Buwaji Somavanshi " you shall no way object to the levying of a tax of half an anna per bullock-load passing through the village by the Kamavisdar of Ranoji Shinde inasmuch as the Mauza Raveri (Pargana Kanhapur) is sanctioned by us for the expenditure of the Vrindawan of our late revered father". (Balaji Bajirao's Diary, P. 102, *see* Appendix B.)

Provision for increasing the sanctity of the spot.—The same Peshwa further ordered Ramchandra Malhar on the 27th of January, 1751, " Veda Murti Digambarbhatt Nasikkar intends to stay at Raverkhedi with ten followers and devote himself to the worship of the God " Fire ". He shall be annually paid rupees two hundred out of the revenue of Pargana Kanhapur, etc.". (Peshwa Balaji Bajirao's Diary, P. 112, *see* Appendix C.)

After the downfall of the Peshwa.—That the Pargana was a private property of the Peshwas and as such was, from time to time, managed through agents is further supported by the following extract of a Note. This Note was addressed by Major Smith (then employed on the settlement of the new territory acquired in 1818 after the downfall of the Peshwa) to Sir John Malcolm. In his letter dated 30th August of the year, he states " I shall now proceed to those districts lately in the possession of Bajee Rao, and which have now become the property of the Hon'ble company."

" Kunnapore, a pargunna on the south bank of the Nerbada and in the vicinity of Mundalesir was lately acknowledged under the sovereignty of the *ex*-Peshwa who rented it to Doondoo Biswanath a Brahmin at Poona. It contains 25 villages; one of which is disposed of in Zamindaree and 16 desolate and 8 only having inhabitants". (Vol. IX, *Calendar of papers from the India office Records*, P. 2692.)

Summary of events to the end of 1818.—To sum up the whole situation till the end of the year 1818 A. D., we see that (*i*) the Pargana of Kanapore was a private property of the Peshwa and it was being managed by their own agents; that (*ii*) the income of Mauza Raverkhedi of this Pargana was sanctioned for the expenses of the Vrindawan of Peshwa Bajirao I who breathed his last there in 1740; and that (*iii*) the Pargana of Kannapore was owned in August of 1818 by the Hon'ble East India Company.

Appeal under the term of the treaty of 1818.—Had a proper representation under term 5 of the treaty with Bajirao been then made to the Hon'ble Company as regards the nature of the grant of Mauza Raverkhedi, we are sure the Company would have treated the grant of Mauza Raverkhedi towards the expenses of the Vrindawan with regard. This term 5 runs as follows:—" If Bajirao, by a ready and complete fulfilment of this agreement, shows that

he reposes entire confidence in the British Government, his request in favour of principal Jahagirdars and old adherents who have been ruined by their attachment to him, will meet with liberal attention. His representations also in favour of Brahmins of remarkable character, and of religious establishments founded or supported by his family, shall be treated with regard ". (*Vide* the *Life and Correspondence of Sir John Malcolm*, Vol. II, P. 248.)

Peshwa Bajirao, " by a ready and complete fulfilment of the agreement, did show that he reposed entire confidence in the British Government " as after events have unequivocally shown: that the British Government, on their part, have " treated representations of religious establishments founded or supported by his family with regard " is equally true. Among a number of such establishments, the case of Mauza Raverkhedi remained then unrepresented for reasons we can hardly surmise at this distance of time; but the fact remains of its character, and we request the present British Government to look more to the equity than to mere technique of the case.

It is gratifying to note that the Central Provinces Government has lately declared its intention of declaring this, as well as a few other mementos of the Camp of Bajirao at this spot, as protected monuments.

APPENDIX A.

१३५. मौजे रावेर परगणे कानापूर समत विज्यागड येथें तीर्थरूप राव यांणीं कैलासवास केला त्या स्थलीं इमारतीचें काम करावयासी रा. राणोजी शिंदे यांसी आज्ञा केली आहे, त्याचे बेगमीस मौजे मजकुर दरोबस्त कुल बाब कुल कानु मोकासा दिल्हा आहे, तर मशारनिल्हेसीं रुजु होऊन मौजे मजकूरचा कुल बाब वसूल मशारनिल्हेकडे देणें म्हणोन गांवास पत्र १.

इ. स. १७४०.४१ इहिदे अर्बैन मया व अलफ. सावान २६ बालाजी बाजीराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी. पान ८८.

APPENDIX B.

१३८. मौजे रावेरी परगणे कान्हापुर हा गांव तीर्थरूप रा. राव कैलासवासी यांच्या वृंदावनाकडे दिल्हा असे त्या मार्गे बेपारी बैल घेऊन येतील जातील त्यांस रा. राणोजी शिंदे याजकडील कमाविसदार मौजे मजकुरीं आहेत ते दर एक बैलास रुके ६ दोनपैसे घेतील त्यास तुह्मी मुजाहिम न होणें म्हणून बुवा जो सोमवंशी यासी पत्र १. इसन. १७४२.१७४३ इसने अर्बैन मया व अलफ. जिल्हीज ७ बालाजी बाजीराव पेशवे यांची रोजनिशी पान १०२.

APPENDIX C.

१५६. रामचंद्र मल्हार यासी पत्र कीं, कैलासवासी राव यांचें वृंदावन नर्मदातिरीं रावेरी मध्यें आहे, येथें वेदमूर्ती रा दिगंबर भट नासिककर दाहा माणसांनिशीं अग्निहोत्र घेऊन राहणार आहेत सबब यांस वर्षासन रुपये २०० दोनसें देविले असेत. परगणे कान्हापूर येथील ऐवजीं साल दरसाल पावते करून कबज घेत जाणें तेणें प्रमाणे मजुरा पडतील म्हणोन मशारनिल्हे यांस सनद १. छ.स. १७५०.५१ इहिदे खमसेन मया व अलफ. रबिलावल १० बालाजी बाजीराव यांची रोजनिशी पान ११२.

Extract from Captain Forsyth's Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of British Nimar, 1868-69, page 38, para. 78.

78. *Nimar transferred to Scindia, and Holkar.*—In A. D. 1778 the whole of Prant Nimar was bestowed by the Peshwa in Jageer on the Mahratta leaders, Scindia, Holkar, and the Powar, with the exception of three small tracts termed Khusrawud, Kanapore, and Beria, which were retained by the Peshwa, partly in order that their revenues might be devoted to the support of Bajeerao's tomb at Ravere, and partly no doubt with the view of retaining in the Peshwa's hands the command of certain roads and the fords of the Nerbudda river attached to them.

CHAPTER V.

British Management.

The farming period.

163. *Early measures in British Nimar.*—When the three pergunnahs of Kusrawud (including Mundlaisir), Kanapore, and Beria, became British in A.D. 1818, at the close of the last Mahratta war, they were taken over by Colonel Smith, and held in Civil charge by him for two years till May 1820. Kusrawud no longer belongs to the district, so that much remark on its affairs is not required. It had been for a long time in Jageer to a family of Shastrees, and, on becoming British, was at once leased out by villages to their Patels. Being a Jageer it had probably escaped the evils of the revenue farming system. Of the two latter pergunnahs it was forcibly reported that " there is not a crow in Kanapore Beria ", or more exactly " they exhibited nothing but one continued scene of desolation and ruin. All traces of former cultivation had ceased to be perceptible, and extensive tracts were observed overgrown with jungle, and, with the exception of Kanapore, not a dwelling or

an inhabitant was to be seen in any part of the country." They had been since A. D. 1740 a private estate of the Peshwa's, devoted to the support of the tomb of the Peshwa Bajeerao, who died at Ravere, of pergunnah Beria. Thus in the latter years of the war the Peshwa's power being entirely confined to the Deccan, these tracts, appertaining to no one on the spot with an interest in their protection, had suffered more complete devastation at the hands of the Pindarees and Bheels than almost any other part of the country.

Papers relating to the protection afforded by the House of Sindhia to the Khandekars of Panth Piploda.

(By Ganpat Rav Gopal Khandekar.)

Panth Piploda is a petty Estate comprising ten villages, held directly under the British Indian Government. It is under the Malwa Political Agency, in Central India. Originally it was called "the Tappah of Piploda", and formed part of the old Parganah of Mandaval, in Sarkar Mandsaur. Its separation, as another unit of Political authority, from the Parganah, of which "the greater portion" belongs to the Nawab of Jaora, dates from a grant made in 1765 by Peshva Madhav Rav I, bestowing the Tappah in Saranjam Jagir, upon Gopal Sambhaji, the Founder of the Family. The prefix Panth (a road) added to the name of Qasbah Piploda, since the advent of the British supremacy in that part of the country, denotes its situation on the old track leading to Rajputana. By article 14 of the Treaty of 1817 between the Peshva and the British, the Tappah came to be a cession to the latter and is British territory. By a Resolution passed on the 16th October 1928, the Secretary of State for India in Council has made a Chief Commissionership of it, probably with a view to bring the administration abreast with the changed times, and conferred upon the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor General the additional designation of Chief Commissioner, in connection with the control thereof.

2. In 1763, before the grant, referred to, was made, the Peshva had appointed Gopal Sambhaji to the Kamavis of the entire Parganah of Mandaval, and by a letter addressed on the 30th October 1763 to Kedarji and Mahadji Sindhia committed the interests of the new Kamavisdar to their care. Indeed they were specially asked to render every kind of help including the despatch of a body of horse and foot, for the establishment of his authority. As usual in those days Gopal Sambhaji had to exercise full civil and military control in his charge. Mahadji, whose accession to power was due to Madhav Rav's great support, proved very helpful to Gopal Sambhaji and also to his two sons Dhondo Gopal and Janardan Gopal after him, as may be seen, for instance, from the letter, which he wrote on the 30th December

1793 to Mirza Gulshan Beg, the Kamavisdar of Mandsaur and some adjoining Parganahs, directing that official to do all that could be done for assisting them in the management of the Jagir in question.

3. The time between 1798 and 1817 is emphatically called by Sir John Malcolm[1] "the period of trouble", during which strife and commotion reigned supreme, and might was right in Malwa. Accordingly at intervals between 1798 and 1806 Anand Rav Pavar of Dhar frequently seized the Jagir, and in 1807-09 Yashvant Rav Holkar had the forcible possession of it. Daulat Rav Sindhia, who, like Mahadji, took interest in the Khandekars, came to their rescue, and wrote to the Pavar and Holkar, for instance, in his letters respectively of the 10th July 1800 and the 24th Shavval, for the restoration of the Jagir. He also commanded some of the high officers in his forces, like Colonel Hira Singh and Vaman Khanderav, in letters respectively dated the 25th November 1805 and the 19th June 1806, to secure the object in view, if necessary, by sending out sufficient horse and foot to the spot. And as might be expected the Jagir was restored. Holkar, who had invaded it last, notified the fact of the restoration in an order issued on the 12th August 1809 to "the Zamindars of Tappah Piploda in Parganah Mandaval".

4. It must be here remembered that this period was so very unsettled that the Pavar of Dhar had to lose more than one Parganah to superior force, and even the mighty and merciful British Government, to whom Dhar is indebted for the whole of its possession, could not, as mentioned by Malcolm[2], see its way to undo the loss. Side by side with this there came into existence, partly through the gift of Holkar and partly through the British Treaty of Mandsaur, the new State of Jaora, and it may not be out of place to state that but for the great efforts and sacrifices made by the Khandekars and the timely and effective help rendered by Sindhia, even the Panth Piploda Estate would have similarly passed on to Jaora, along with the rest of the Mandaval Parganah, in which case it would not have been possible for the Estate to later on become "British territory" that it is now. All this has, however, come to be a forgotten chapter of the history of Panth Piploda.

5. In 1919 the fine house of the Family in their Garhi at Panth Piploda was burnt by an accidental fire, in which many bundles of valuable records, belonging to them perished. Among the papers, that have survived, however, may be seen in original four letters from Mahadji, and fifteen from Daulat Rav, preserved, with some others, as a rare treasure. They all relate of course to the assistance rendered to the Khandekars, and include those to which allusion is made above. They are addressed to various persons, who played active parts in the great events of those times and are thus valuable, not only from the point of view of the history of the Estate, but also, to some extent, from that of the history of Malwa generally.

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[1] *Vide* page 89 of his "Report on Malwa".
[2] *Vide* page 653 of the Report on Malwa. *See* also the foot note.

There are three more letters in the possession of the Khandekars, all in original, from Daulat Rav, which concern the affairs of his own Government. One of these, namely, the one dated the 17th October 1806, to Bhujang Rav Yashvant, an officer in his forces, is of considerable historical interest to the Gwalior State. It refers to the defence of Parganahs Nolai and Mandsaur, by that officer and to other matters more or less important. As a noteworthy item it may be mentioned that Sindhia insisted on the recovery from the Pavar of even the most trivial amount of expenditure incurred in an attack which had been made upon that Chief. There are also directions given regarding some cannon manufactured by Man Singh Chaudhari. Very few persons now recollect that Nolai is the present Badnagar. The locality, known as Tophkhana in Ujjain, was probably so named after the foundry, which was there, of Man Singh Chaudhari, of whom Malcolm wrote:— " . . . . . the famous . . . Man Singh Chaudhari . . . . . . long directed the foundry at Ujjain and is reported to have been a man of much science ". His " slave and scholar " Sobharam, " a Hindu artificer ", " was the Chief director of Yashvant Rav Holkar's foundry ".[3]

Some Early French Writers on India.

(By A. Balasubramaniam Pillai.)

Before I read my paper, I consider it a sacred duty, as the representative of the French Government in India, to convey the thanks and respects of H. E. the Governor of French India to His Britannic Majesty's Government in India and the Gwalior Durbar and his good wishes to the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Richelieu and Colbert created the enthusiasm for trade with India. " But for Parmentier who went in 1579, to Sumatra, *François Pyrard de Laval* was the first of them since Guillaume de Rubruquis. He went out in 1601 and published an account of his adventurous journey with very valuable remarks, on what he had seen in 1619." De Laval describes the Spanish, Portuguese and Italian ships as being " mighty foul and stinking " and the ships of the English and the Hollanders as being scrupulously clean. He was shipwrecked on the coast of the Maldives and studied the Maldive language and social institutions and gathered the store of facts which he embodied in the first volume of his book *Voyage de François Pyrard de Laval,* " Paris 1619 ", which remains an authority on the Maldives to this day. After four years of captivity, Pyrard was rescued by an expedition from Chittagong, and later allowed to go to Calicut where he stayed 8 months. Pyrard throws valuable light on the attitude of the Zamorin of Calicut towards the Portuguese. He was

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[3] The Memoirs of Central India, Vol. I, p. 200, foot note †.

later seized by the Portuguese and cast into prison at Cochin. " The horrors of this dungeon ", according to Pyrard's description " almost baffle belief and are a confirmation of what we have gathered from Pinto and others on the subject of Portuguese cruelty in India." Pyrard was later taken to Goa, where he spent some time both in hospital and in prison. He testifies to the moral laxity, gambling and corruption that marked the declining Portuguese power and were particularly rife in Goa. He then visited Ceylon and the Malay Archipelago and returned by the Cape Route in 1611 to Laval.

Tavernier was the next traveller of importance to visit India. He made 6 journeys to the East, beginning in 1631 with Persia and returning finally to France in 1668. In 1675 appeared his first publication under the title *Nouvelle relation du Serial du Grand Signior*. His *Six voyages* was published in the next year (2 vols. 4°) which was so popular that it underwent frequent reprints and translations into English, German, Dutch and Italian and roused the jealousy of other travellers like Chardin and Careri. It was in his second voyage that he came to Hindustan early in 1641, but there is no direct evidence as to the route which he followed, and possibly in 1640 he made the journey from Surat to Agra. He visited Goa, Golconda and Ahmedabad before he sailed for the Persian Gulf at the end of 1642 or the beginning of 1643. In his third voyage he reached Surat in January 1645 and visited the famous Golconda diamond mines at Ramalakota near Kurnool and Kan-i-Kollur and at Somelpur in West Bengal. He then visited Goa and Batavia, having narrowly escaped ship-wreck on the coast of Malabar. He reached Paris in 1649. He set sail on his 4th voyage in 1651 travelled overland to Bunder Abbas from whence he embarked for India, finally landing at Masulipatam in July 1652. He visited San Thome, had an interview with the famous Amir Jumla, the Vizier of Golconda, and thence proceeded to Surat and Ahmedabad. He returned to Golconda in 1653, paid another visit to the diamond mines and finally embarked on board a Dutch fleet which took him to Bunder Abbas. His fifth voyage began in 1657, he prolonged his stay at Ispahan till the beginning of 1659 and reached Surat at the invitation of Nawab Shaista Khan and finally met that noble man at Chakan, laying siege to it. He went further southwards to visit the diamond mines of Golconda and returned to Surat about the end of 1660 or the beginning of 1661. His sixth and last voyage began in 1663 and he proceeded through Ispahan and Bunder Abbas to Surat in May 1665. At Surat he was robbed of his letters by the Dutch and as a measure of retaliation he wrote his exposures contained in *The History of the Conduct of the Dutch in Asia*. He then travelled by Burhanpur, Gwalior and Agra to Shajahanabad and had an audience with Aurangzib. He witnessed the ceremony of the annual weighing of the Emperor and saw the magnificent collection of stones in the Mughal Treasury. About this time he met the famous Bernier and the two travelled in company through Allahabad, Benares and Patna to Bengal. He then visited Nawab Shaista Khan at Dacca, and returned to Surat in 1666 by way of Patna and Agra.

Early in 1667 he embarked for Bunder Abbas and on landing there, had an interview with Chardin; he finally reached Paris at the close of 1668.

It is said that the *Six voyages* were written from Tavernier's dictation by a French Protestant named Chappuzeau and in part by Dantier de Landes who accompanied him on one of his voyages. From their very nature the memoirs could not have been written from mere verbal dictation; doubtless Chappuzeau edited them. The works of Thevenot, Bernier and Chardin were better than Tavernier's account from the literary and philosophical points of view. But the reading public preferred "Tavernier's facts and personal observations to the philosophical speculations which were added to the facts recorded by his rivals". Even Voltaire's contemptuous opinion of Tavernier did not influence his popularity. M. Joret gives an interesting account of the controversies and polemical literature which were roused by the publication of Tavernier's memoirs. (See Dr V. Ball's Eng. Translation of the Travels in India—2 vols. and its edition by W. Crooke, 2 Vols, 1925.)

Jean Thevenot arrived in 1666 in Surat, published a full and fairly trustworthy account of India in 1686, 3 years after his namesake, Melchisedeck Thevenot had published his *Relation des Divers Voyages* which was a collection of travels. Thevenot visited Surat, Cambay, Ahmedabad and Burhanpur and then Golconda and Hyderabad and subsequently returned to Surat by way of Bidar and Burhanpur. His remarks on the administration of Surat and especially of the province of Gujerat are very valuable; he has detailed in his description of the Kingdom of Golconda, its coinage and Criminal law; and he gives a notice of the prevalence of the practice of Thuggee (though the name itself is not mentioned) according to which travellers were lured from the road and lassoed by hidden men. (Harris Navigantium Atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca or A complete collection of Voyages and Travels—2 vols. (1705), vol. 2 and R. Kerr—A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels (1811-24), Vol. IX.) Thevenot's Indian travels were comparatively limited in area; and a large part of it was taken either from hearsay or from other books; but his accounts of his actual experiences are very valuable.

Bernier's book is too well known to need detailed mention. Other accounts were given by Bellanger de Lespinay of Vendome (who was in the East from 1670 to 1675) and Belloi who was there from 1667 to 1677, the year Delestre published his book. (P. 183 of Sencourt's *India in English literature.*)

The memoirs of François Martin which cover the period 1664 to 1694, unpublished and lying in the *Archives Nationales* at Paris, describe the devoted labours of this remarkable man in the cause of the founding of the French dominion in India. About 1670 when Martin came to the East, Colbert, the great French Minister, sent to the East the famous scholar, Petis de la Croix, to whom Europe owes the French translation of the Arabian Nights and who became a Professor of Arabic in the College de France in 1692. His translation of the *Zaafar Nama*, containing only the first part,

published as the Histoire de Timur Bec, Paris, 1722—4 vols., formed one of Gibbon's chief sources respecting this hero. This was translated into English in 1723. The French translation was by no means a complete biography and it is an abridged, rather than a full version of the original, which is very partial towards Timur, besides being interspersed with fables.

Colbert had another confidential agent in the East, the Abbé Carré, who made two voyages in the years 1668—1674 and whose account is interesting and even valuable. *Carré's Voyages des Indes Orientales*, 1669—1671, contains an account of Shivaji with "some details not obtainable elsewhere", besides stories of the women of Georgia and of a Persian princess. The volumes profess to be only an abridgement of the story of the Abbé's two voyages; "If that longer account exists no record of it has yet been found, but a document of the greatest interest is the manuscript of Abbé Carré's *Courier de l'Orient* which describes his second journey in the years 1672—1674." This important work has lain hidden in the India Office Library, few know of its existence. It is the most detailed account that any Frenchman has sent home from India and is full of interesting details. It is the only record of a Frenchman's impressions of the English Company and supplements that of the French Company in the manuscripts of F. Martin in the Archives Nationales. He himself describes it as a polished mirror in which he shows clearly the most secret and hidden things of all that had passed in the administration of the business of those most distant parts of the world; he claimed to give an account of the conduct, the feelings and the enterprises of those to whom the (French) Company had committed its interests; of the accounts and establishment of the Company; of the way other European nations managed their business; of Christian Churches and how others differed from the French in living; and he said he would show how the kings and princes of the East studied and protected the French interests. (P. 185 of Sencourt, who adds that it was his use of this manuscript that gave the greatest value to M. Kaeppelin's book, *The Compagnie Royale des Indes—Direction de la Chambre Générale de la Royale Compagnie d' Orient.*)

Carré admires the English for their fortitude in overcoming difficulties and for the better administration of their settlements and he gives a good many details of the triangular struggles between the English, the Dutch and the French. He gives admiringly the details of the English System of navigation and of their sagacity in adopting their wares to the tastes of the Indians, and in dealing with their servants. The Abbé sent letters in the period of his second voyage to Colbert, which are now preserved in the Archives of the Ministère des Colonies in Paris; and these cover much of the actual matter contained in the *Courier de l'Orient*.

Pyrard de Laval's story had first hinted to the French nation that the East provided a new field for their enterprise, and the French literature of Travel, which was published while Carré was busy on the errand of Colbert,

offered every reader a memorial and an example of the aptness of the French genius for the exploits and observations of Oriental travellers. There were not only the works of Bernier, Tavernier, Thevenot and Chardin. The *Bibliotheque Orientale* of D'Herbelot de Nolainville was the first compendium of information about the *Indes* and purported to contain everything which concerned an acquaintance with the people of the Orient, their histories and traditions, whether true or fabulous, their religious and political institutions. When Dupleix was in India these were all outstanding authorities; and the time had not yet come when the work of Anquetil du Perron or the Abbé Raynal was excelled by those of contemporary Englishmen. (Sencourt—p. 188.)

Another French work of historical importance is B. Picart's *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, which, although there is no depth of originality of learning in the book, is founded on sound authorities and describes subjects directly and reasonably. It was originally published in 1723 and was translated into English ten years later; and probably the imagination of Southey was fascinated by the numerous plates of the book which are extremely good.

These are the more important of the books by French travellers and authors before the rich output of books on India by Voltaire, Diderot, and Abbé Raynal, Lemiere and Favart about A.D. 1770, and the *Histoire des Indes Orientales* which was published by the Abbé Guyon in 1744.

Mahadji Sindhia of Gwalior.

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A.)

Introduction. How the Gwalior State came into existence. A Retrospect. —Of the many opportunities for genius and ambition which presented themselves towards the establishment of monarchy in India in the eighteenth century, there is scarcely a parallel that shows a more meteoric career than that of Mahadji Sindhia, Maharaja of Gawlior. The great empire of the Mughals, which Babar reared after the first battle of Panipat in the beginning of the sixteenth century, had at the time been dissolved. The sceptre of sovereignty had slipped from the feeble grasp of the successors of Aurangzeb, for they had become mere puppets in the hands of their powerful subordinates. The whirlwind incursions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, during the years 1739 to 1760, had sapped whatever yet remained of the great Mughal dominion. In Northern India, the Jats on the one side and the Rohillas on the other, were most barefacedly challenging the power of the Mughal emperors in the districts surrounding the Imperial Capital. In Southern India, practically the whole of the Deccan had become independent of the irksome yoke of Delhi. The growing British power, which was destined to establish a great empire in India, had not yet entered upon its glorious

career. The path between the grave of the old power and the cradle of the new was beset with interminable conflicts and strifes between petty chiefs and glorified proconsuls. The inevitable consequence was the sudden rise, on the ashes of the towering Mughal empire in India, of a series of small self-growing States, most of them ephemeral, but others containing the germs of a future worthier existence. Of such States, one of the most tenacious was Gwalior, whose armies and Chiefs continued to play an important part in the politics of India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A brief account of the relations of the Honourable East India Company with the Court of perhaps the greatest sovereign of this State, should prove interesting reading to students of history.

2. *Importance of the records.*—The records of the Imperial Record Department, which deal with these "relations," date from the beginning of the First Mahratta War in 1779, in which year Mahadji Sindhia came into conflict with the East India Company. The value of such records from the historical point of view will be evident from the following extract of the letter[1] which Captain J. Sutherland, the Resident at the Sindhia's Court, wrote to Mr W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary, on the 12th of August 1838, from the Gwalior Residency:—

"I have now the honour to submit the continuation of the sketch of our relations with Gwalior closed up to this date. It is given in much detail to render it of some value as an office record as well as to afford materials for future history."

3. *History of the Sindhias.*—To follow intelligently the subject-matter of this paper a knowledge of the history of the ancestors of Mahadji Sindhia may with advantage be included.

The ancestors of the Sindhia family, according to the statement of Captain J. Sutherland,[2] used to live in the south of India, one branch of which held the hereditary post of *patel* in the village of Koorerkera in the district of Satara. The head of the family received a patent of rank from the Emperor Aurangzeb, while a daughter of this family was married to Raja Sahu, grandson of Sivaji. The first appearance of this family in Central India was early in the eighteenth century in the person of Ranoji Sindhia, a scion of an impoverished branch of the family, who began his career[3] as the slipper-bearer of the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, and rose, owing to his military abilities, to be Commander of his bodyguard. From this position his rise to the first rank of the Mahratta Chiefs was rapid. Ranoji Sindhia fixed his head-

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[1] Political O. C., 13 Feb. 1839, No. 63 (1st letter).

[2] Political O. C., 13 Feb. 1839, No. 63-A.

[3] According to Grant-Duff, this seems incredible. He says "the Sindhias were distinguished sillidars (cavaliers) since the time of the Bahmani dynasty. It is difficult to see why Ranoji Sindhia, who was a relation to Raja Sahu, should prefer a menial service to the military profession, which, at that time, promised to every youthful and aspiring spirit a rich harvest of wealth and glory."

quarters at Ujjain,[4] which rose to be the first capital of Sindhia's dominion. Ranoji Sindhia died at Shinghalpur (Shujalpur) about the year 1750,[5] the precise date of his death, however, being uncertain.

4. *Ranoji Sindhia's descendants.*—Ranoji Sindhia left three legitimate sons, Jayapa, Dattaji and Jatiba, and two illegitimate sons, Tukaji and Mahadji, all of whom, except Tukaji, survived their father. Jayapa's life was cut short; he died by the hand of an assassin at Nagor in 1759.[6] Dattaji and Jatiba were killed during fourth invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali (1759-61). Hence it is found that within a few years of Ranoji Sindhia's death his family had become practically extinct.

5. *Mahadji Sindhia.*—Of the large family left by Ranoji Sindhia not a single descendant survived to perpetuate its grandeur except Mahadji, who narrowly escaped with his life from the terrible slaughter of Panipat[7] in 1761. It was a crisis in the history of the family of the Sindhias. It was feared that the then Peshwa, the head of the Mahratta Confederacy, would, under the plea of illegitimacy, deprive Mahadji of his father's possessions: this would have caused the name of the Sindhias to be buried in oblivion. Fate, however, had decreed otherwise. Mahadji Sindhia was destined not only to receive back his father's territories, but " to cut a great figure in Indian history, to establish one of the most powerful and lasting Hindu monarchies in India and to play a paramount role in the drama of Anglo-Sindhia relations in India ".

6. Mahadji Sindhia!—a name to conjure up the bygone chivalry of India! He was the greatest that his age and country could produce at the time. It was true that he could not oppose successfully Generals Goddard and Camac in the First Mahratta War: who else could? History admits " that with worthless soldiers which Mahadji Sindhia had at his command, even Napoleon Bonaparte himself could not have done that. Generalship can go very far but it cannot of itself gain a victory. Had he brave and disciplined English armies at his command, he could have established his absolute sway over India within a very short time ".

7. *Chaotic state of the Peshwa Government.*—The history of Gwalior may be computed to begin from the time of Mahadji Sindhia who founded Gwalior after obtaining from the then Peshwa, with some difficulty, a re-grant of his father's fief in the year 1769.[8] The Mahratta Government was then in a state of ferment, and this disturbed state of affairs due to the rule of the Peshwa was instrumental in fashioning future relations between the East

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[4] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, New York, 1910, Vol. XII, p. 748.

[5] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. XII, puts the date as " 1745 ". But Mr. C. Aitchison says " that he died in 1750 in Malwa ".

[6] Aitchison's *Treaties, etc.*, 1909, Vol. IV, p. 11; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XII, p. 748.

[7] Aitchison's *Treaties, etc.*, 1909, Vol. IV, p. 11; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XII, p. 748.

[8] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XII, p. 748.

India Company and Sindhia's Court. Shortly after his assumption of Kingship, Narayan Rao, the fifth Peshwa, was murdered[9] in 1772; during the scramble for the Peshwaship which followed, Mahadji Sindhia seized the occasion to extend his power and played an important part in the civil onslaught. In the year 1775 when Raghunath Rao, the uncle of the late Peshwa (better known as Raghoba), claimed for himself the post of Peshwa under the aid of the East India Company,[10] Nana Farnavis, the Minister of the then infant Peshwa, Madhu Rao Narayan, invoked the help of the French.[11] In the struggle, Mahadji Sindhia was the chief supporter of the party of Nana Farnavis. An English translation of the paper[12] delivered by Nana Farnavis to Mons. de St. Lubin, gives a very clear insight of his fervent appeal for French intervention:—

"When the disturbance raised by Morajee is over, which will be ended shortly and without difficulty, I will call your troops from Europe and join them with the Peshwa's army, when by your assistance the business will be properly concluded for which a *jaghir* shall be granted you from the *Sarcar* of the said Peshwa. But now we must set about consulting; the business will come into hand very soon; we shall punish a nation (the English) who have raised up an insolent head (Raghoba), and whose measure of injustice is now full. Some other men, too, who have given protection to the enemy, shall have their crime with its punishment laid before them. (Written on) the 15th *Rabehsanny* in the 19th year of the reign or the 13th May 1778."

8. *East India Company's attempt to enter into relationship with the Court of Gwalior.*—When the Mahratta Government was in the throes of civil war, the British Government, with their usual conciliatory policy, tried to conclude a treaty with Mahadji Sindhia in order to employ him as a mediator in disputes with other parties; but Sindhia's ambition and his insistence on some of the inadmissible conditions of the Convention of Wargaon[13] (1779) defeated these negotiations and this first attempt of the East India Company to enter into friendly relations with the Gwalior Court signally failed.

9. *Mahratta War. East India Company's relations with the Court of Gwalior.*—The failure of the Convention of Wargaon led to the First Mahratta War in 1779 and soon the East India Company came into touch with the Court of Mahadji Sindhia. In the conflict, the series of reverses which Mahadji Sindhia sustained at the hands of Generals J. Camac and T. Goddard between the years 1779 and 1780, led him to appreciate the strength and discipline of this new Power which had now entered into the

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[9] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, by W. W. Hunter, Vol. VI, p. 321.

[10] Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 31st May 1775. The letter from the President and Council at Bombay to the Board, dated Bombay, the 31st March 1775, throws considerable light on this subject. One interesting fact elicited is that Raghoba's troops partially consisted of Arab soldiers.

[11] Sec. Cons., dated Fort William, the 23rd January 1778; 13th March 1778; 22nd June 1778.

[12] Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 17th August 1778.

[13] Aitchison's *Treaties, etc.*, 1909, Vol. IV, p. 11.

arena of Indian politics. The brilliant capture by Major William Popham of the Gwalior Fort,[14] which had hitherto been deemed as impregnable[15] by the Indians, utterly destroyed the *morale* of Sindhia's troops, and this soon led him to come to terms with the Honourable East India Company. A treaty[16] was concluded by Col. Grainger Muir on the 13th October 1781 by which the respective forces of Col. Muir and Sindhia were withdrawn and Mahadji Sindhia agreed to use his good offices to effect a peace, or to remain neutral. This treaty, which restored the *status quo ante*, marks the beginning of the East India Company's cordial relations with the Court of Mahadji Sindhia.

10. *Mahadji Sindhia's failure in the First Mahratta War.*—Although Mahadji Sindhia had lost the First Mahratta War, yet from the following extract from the letter of Brigadier-General T. Goddard to the Board, dated the 20th June 1780, it is abundantly clear that Sindhia was certainly not a negligible factor in this contest from the English point of view. Says the extract[17]:—

"If Mahadji Sindhia continues at Oogein till up to the close of the rains, which, I conceive, will be the case, a powerful diversion might be made in that quarter to prevent his passing to the southward of the Nerbudda to succour Nana Farnavese, and I would venture to pronounce, as far as human probability and reason may presume, that, without Sindhia's aid, the minister (Nana Farnavese) would be immediately compelled to terms and enter into any engagements that might be required of him."

11. *Treaty of Salbai.*—This treaty with Col. G. Muir laid the foundation of the East India Company's relations with the Gwalior Court. The real treaty, however, which completed the fabric of Anglo-Sindhia relationship, both political and commercial, and which helped to wipe out all past strained relationship between them, was signed at Salbai[18] on the 17th May 1782, Mahadji Sindhia being the guarantee for its observance. This treaty was regarded by the then Governor General Warren Hastings so very essential for the upkeep of the *entente cordiale* between the English and Mahadji Sindhia's Court that he issued important instructions to Mr David Anderson who was appointed by him to conclude this peace. An extract[19] from the letter of Warren Hastings to David Anderson, dated Benares, the 4th November 1781, bears ample testimony to this:—

"It is, therefore, with a view to dispose him more strongly to our interests, that I desire you to repair to him (Mahadji Sindhia) to give him the strongest

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14 Major William Popham, in his letters to the Board, dated Gwalior, the 4th and 5th August 1780, gives a detailed account of the capture of Gwalior fort and a brief interesting description of the citadel (Pub. Dept. Prog., Vol. 24, Aug. 1780, pp. 1400-6). In this connection *see* also Pub. O. C., 28 Aug. 1780, Nos. 1-2.

15 Pub. O. C., 28 Aug. 1780, No. 5.

16 Letter from Col. G. Muir to Warren Hastings, Governor-General, dated Camp near Sessai, the 20th Oct. 1781 (Sec. Con., dated Fort William, 12th Nov. 1781).

17 Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 13th Nov. 1780.

18 Pub. O. C., 22 April 1789, No. 25.

19 Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 10th Dec. 1781. For the "instructions" issued to Mr David Anderson, the students are referred to the letter itself.

assurances of my personal esteem and friendship and of my desire to cultivate and improve the connection which had lately been formed between us. The most effectual means of accomplishing these purposes would be a personal interview between Sindhia and myself, and I desire that you will endeavour to draw from him his sentiments concerning it, and advise it if you find him disposed to do it, but do not abruptly or formally demand it."

12. *Mahadji Sindhia and the East India Company.*—A letter[20] from Mr D. Anderson to the Governor General, dated Sindhia's camp near Gwalior, the 20th February 1783, shows with what civility and cordiality Mahadji Sindhia received the British plenipotentiary and finally ratified the Treaty of Salbai:—

"I have the honour to inform you that the treaty betwixt the English Government and the Mahratta State was this day completely and finally ratified. In the morning Mahadji Sindhia, attended with all his principal officers, did me the honor to pay me a long visit as a public demonstration of his friendship towards the English Government, after which we proceeded to his tent, where, in the presence of a very numerous assembly, the ratified treaties were formally interchanged, the one under the seal of the Peshwa and the signature of Nana Farnavese being delivered to me, and the other under the seal of the Company and the signature of the Hon'ble Board to Mahadji Sindhia."

13. *Character of Mahadji Sindhia.*—The undermentioned extract[21] from the letter of Mr D. Anderson to the Governor General, dated the 27th February 1783, after his visit to Mahadji Sindhia in connection with the aforesaid event, gives us a faithful estimate of the Sindhia's straightforward character and of his desire to maintain good relations with the British Government:—

"Before I conclude this letter, permit me to indulge myself for a moment in the pleasing task of tendering a tribute of justice to Mahadji Sindhia. In the course of this long negociation (during the ratification of the treaty of Salbai) many circumstances have passed to impress us with unfavourable opinions. Yet we may perhaps find much apology for Sindhia's conduct when we reflect that he has been acting for a superior and probably been often obliged to give way to the dictates of Ministers, by nature grasping and suspicious, from circumstances rendered arrogant, and many of them from peculiar views of selfish policy absolutely averse to the negociation. His conduct on the subject of Broach, where his own interests were only concerned, has formed a very agreeable contrast. Nothing can exceed the delicacy which he has shewn in this affair. You may remember that he executed the original treaty without accepting any written testimony from me of your intentions. He had now completed the ratification without requiring the

[20] Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 10th March 1783.

[21] Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 15th March 1783.

delivery of your grant which is at this moment still in my possession. Since the information I gave him about seven months ago of the arrival of your grant, the subject has scarcely been mentioned more than once, and then only in consequence of my repeating the nature of the obligation which you expected from him regarding the privileges of trade; without requiring any written stipulation or importuning me for explanations or betraying the slightest mark of suspicion he seems throughout the whole of this business (ratification of the Treaty of Salbai) to have relied implicitly on the honour and generosity of the British Government. Candour surely requires that we should judge of his character rather from his conduct in these matters when he is left at liberty and where his own interest only is affected than from the part which he is constrained to act in negociating on behalf of the Peshwa."

14. *Both a political and a commercial treaty.*—The treaty of Salbai, as the records[22] testify, not only brought about amicable political relations between the East India Company and the Sindhia's Durbar, but initiated healthy commercial relationship as well. The 11th and 12th Articles of this treaty speak for themselves:—

"That the vessels of each shall afford no disturbance to the navigation of the vessels of the other and the vessels of each shall be allowed access to the ports of the other where they shall meet with no molestation and the fullest protection shall be reciprocally afforded."

"That the English shall enjoy the privilege of trade in the Mahratta territories and shall meet with no kind of interruption and in the same manner the East India Company agree that the Mahrattas shall be allowed the privileges of trade without interruption in the territories of the English."

Records[23] further enlighten the curious that the happy relations and the spirit of mutual understanding, which this treaty brought about between the English and the Gwalior Court, were so heartily appreciated and welcomed by the British Government, that, to testify their joy, orders were issued "that on the morning of the 11th March 1783 all the guns of the garrison at Fort William be fired in commemoration of the Mahratta treaty and that salutes be likewise fired at every station of the army". It is also a noteworthy fact that to make the Treaty of Salbai an unqualified success and also "to mark their regard for Sindhia's humane conduct to the Bombay army at the time of the Convention of Wargaon", the British Government granted to Mahadji Sindhia "all right, title and possession in the fort, town and pargana of Baroach (*sic*) on the 6th June 1782", Mahadji Sindhia also on his part, as may be gathered from the records, in order to reciprocate the friendly dealings of the British Government, "granted to them an agreement on the 21st March 1783 not to permit any other European nation, except the English, to trade in any shape in the said city, fort and pargana of Baroach". Within

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[22] Pub. O. C., 22nd April 1789, No. 25.

[23] Sec. Con., dated Fort William, the 10th March, 1783; Aitchison's *Treaties, etc.*, Vol. IV, p. 37.

a decade, however, a rupture took place in the Anglo-Sindhia amity on account of the high-handedness of Sindhia's officers towards the English factory near by.

15. *After the Treaty of Salbai.*—The Treaty of Salbai will always stand in history as the greatest landmark in the annals of Anglo-Sindhia relations in India. It raised Mahadji Sindhia to a commanding position in his country. He was no longer a mere feudatory chief of the Peshwa, but had now become an independent Chief, the mighty ally of the British Government who had honoured his Court with the presence of their representative.[24] The system of strict neutrality which the East India Company pursued after the aforesaid treaty, left Mahadji Sindhia at liberty. He determined to lose no time to take full advantage of the British neutrality and in vigorously pushing his military schemes in Northern Hindusthan. He was materially assisted by Benoit de Boigne,[25] a French soldier of fortune, and, with the army trained and disciplined by him, successfully reduced several Rajput States, effectually humbled the pride of Holkar and played an important part in the re-establishment of Emperor Shah Alum on the throne in 1785.

16. *Treaty of Gwalior.*—Two months or so after the ratification of the Treaty of Salbai another treaty seemed necessary to clear up certain doubtful commercial point concerning the Salbai treaty. An additional treaty was therefore entered into. The Treaty of Gwalior[26] was signed between Mr David Anderson on behalf of the East India Company, and Mahadji Sindhia. On the 26th April of 1783 it came into force and a special clause was inserted:—

"In the 11th Article of the Treaty of Salbai relating to the mutual intercourse of shipping, the words 'according to former custom' not having been inserted, it is now therefore explained that the intercourse of friendship shall be carried on according to former custom."

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[24] Mr David Anderson, who concluded the Treaty of Salbai on behalf of the East India Company, was appointed the first Resident at the Court of Mahadji Sindhia (1783). The second Resident was Lieut. James Anderson, first Resident's brother (1783-86). The third Resident was Capt. William Kirkpatrick (1786-87). The fourth Resident was Major William Palmer (1788-94). The letters of the Earl of Cornwallis, the Governor-General, to these Residents, between 1786 and 1794, throw a flood of light on the Anglo-Sindhia relations and on Mahadji's military career. (Foreign Dept. Miscellaneous Record No. 45.)

[25] Benoit de Boigne, an inhabitant of Savoy (France), came to India to seek his fortune. He had served under Lord Clare in the famous Irish Brigade at Fontenoy and elsewhere, and, after many vicissitudes, including imprisonment by the Turks, reached India and for a time held a commission in the 6th Madras Infantry. After resigning his commission he had proposed to travel overland to Russia, but was prevented from doing so by the loss of his papers and possessions. He finally entered Sindhia's service and was instrumental in establishing Sindhia's supremacy in Northern Hindusthan. *Chambers' Encyclopædia* says that "he raised Sindhia's force to an army of 18,000 regular and 6,000 irregular infantry and 2,000 irregular and 600 Persian horse with 200 cannons." The terms on which De Boigne entered the service of Sindhia are very curious. He got no advance of money. He was only allowed Rs. 1,000 a month for himself and Rs. 5 a month indiscriminately for every soldier he raised. The military career of Mahadji Sindhia is found in the Public, Secret, Political, Army and Persian records of the Imperial Record Department, 1784 onwards.

[26] Pub. O. C., 22 April 1789, No. 25.

17. *Last days of Mahadji Sindhia.*—The glory of the house of Mahadji Sindhia was now at its zenith. It was the closing years of his life. The opinion of Colonel Malleson on these years will amply repay perusal: " He was now by far the most powerful prince of the Mahrattas, there was none who could even be called his second, and it was evident from his great genius and the irresistible power he had acquired, that he would soon be the virtual, if not nominal, head of the Mahratta people and the ruler of the greatest part of India. What a grand prospect of unparalleled power, glory and grandeur lay before him! The gorgeous dreams of his youth and later years are now about to be realised! He would be the Captain-General of the united forces of the Indian princes against the foreign intruders who threatened to absorb all India in their ever-growing empire. He would bring under one standard the scattered horsemen and French Contingent of Tipu Sultan, the powerful artillery of the Nizam, the whole force of the Rajputs, and every spear which his influence could have collected from the Mahratta Confederacy, and, at the head of these combined forces, fight the great battle of Hindu independence and would thus wipe out the disgrace of the Third Panipat. Visions of glory and empire floated before him and his fancy painted the future with rainbow tints, with orient colours." But visions are visions, after all! Such things were not destined to be. While Sindhia was contemplating his dreams of future glory, he was " suddenly attacked with violent fever which terminated his life at Wanauli[27] on the 12th February 1794 ". He passed away in the midst of his lofty ambitions at a time when success seemed almost within his grasp.

" There is a Divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will."

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[27] *The Chronology of Modern India*, by Dr J. Burgess, 1913, p. 268.

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held in the Council Hall, Moti Mahal, Gwalior, on the 22nd December, 1929.

PRESENT

1. Sir FRANK NOYCE, Kt., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S. (President).
2. Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., Calcutta.
3. Mr H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I.E.S., Poona.
4. Mr G. S. SARDESAI, B.A., Poona.
5. Dr S. A. KHAN, M.A., D. LITT., Allahabad.
6. Mr R. B. RAMSBOTHAM, M.B.E., M.A., I.E.S., attended in place of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal (co-opted).
7. MONS A. BALASUBRAMANIUM PILLAI, Representative of the French Government in India (co-opted).
8. SARDAR RAO BAHADUR M. V. KIBE, M.A., Deputy Prime Minister of Indore (co-opted).
9. SRIMATI KAMALABAI KIBE, Indore (co-opted).
10. RANI LUXMIBAI RAJWADE, Gwalior (co-opted).
11. Mr S. R. BHAGWAT, Gwalior (co-opted).
12. Dr Y. G. APTE, Gwalior (co-opted).
13. Mr S. GAUR, Gwalior (co-opted).
14. Mr M. B. GARDE, B.A., Gwalior (co-opted).
15. CAPT. G. V. MODAK, Gwalior (co-opted).
16. Mr B. R. TAMBE, Gwalior (co-opted).
17. Mr V. S. PHATARPHEKAR, B.A., Gwalior (co-opted).
18. Mr G. B. MAKODAY, Gwalior (co-opted).
19. Mr C. V. VAIDYA, M.A., LL.B., Poona (co-opted).
20. Mr S. KHURSHEED ALI, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government (co-opted).
21. Mr C. V. JOSHI, M.A., Baroda State (co-opted).
22. PANDIT BISSESWAR NATH REU, Jodhpur State (co-opted).
23. PANDIT DASARATH SARMA, M.A., Bikaner State (co-opted).

24. PANDIT RAMDIN PARASAR, Kishangarh State (co-opted).
25. MUNSHI FATEH LAL, Partabgarh State (co-opted).
26. Mr V. V. THAKUR, B.A., Indore State (co-opted).
27. PANDIT S. K. OKA, Dhar State (co-opted).
28. Dr S. R. OKA, L.M.& S., Dewas State, Junior Branch (co-opted).
29. KHAN BAHADUR D. F. VAKIL, Ratlam State (co-opted).
30. Mr K. A. NILKANTHA SASTRI, M.A., Madras University (co-opted).
31. Mr B. R. KUMAR, M.A., Annamalai University (co-opted).
32. SHAMS-UL-ULAMA K. AHMAD, M.A., I.E.S., Calcutta University (co-opted).
33. Dr R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Dacca University (co-opted).
34. Dr R. K. MUKHERJI, M.A., Ph.D., Lucknow University (co-opted).
35. Mr J. C. TALUKDAR, M.A., Agra University (co-opted).
36. Mr S. K. SEN, M.A., Delhi University (co-opted).
37. Mr S. N. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., Benares Hindu University (co-opted).
38. Mr MD HABEEB, B.A., Aligarh Muslim University (co-opted).
39. Mr H. K. SHERWANI, M.A., Osmania University, Hyderabad (co-opted).
40. THE HON'BLE Mr Justice J. F. W. JAMES, M.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S., Patna (co-opted).
41. Dr D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta (co-opted).
42. Mr R. D. MEHTA, C.I.E., Calcutta (co-opted).
43. Mr MESROVB J. SETH, M.R.A.S., Calcutta (co-opted).
44. THE REV. H. HERAS, M.A., Bombay (co-opted).
45. Mr D. V. POTDAR, B.A., Poona (co-opted).
46. RAI BAHADUR PANDIT SHEO NARAIN, Lahore (co-opted).
47. LALA SITARAM KOHLI, Lahore (co-opted).
48. RAO BAHADUR DR S. K. AIYANGAR, M.A., Ph.D., Madras (co-opted).
49. Mr C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A., Madras (co-opted).
50. Mr R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T., Rajahmundry (co-opted).
51. Mr R. M. CROFTON, I.C.S., JUBBULPORE (co-opted).
52. Mr Y. M. KALE, Buldana (co-opted).
53. Mr Y. K. DESHPANDE, M.A., LL.B., Yeotmal (co-opted).
54. Dr BALKRISHNA, M.A., Ph.D., Kolhapur (co-opted).
55. Mr S. K. BHUYAN, M.A., B.L., Gauhati (Assam) (co-opted).
56. Mr. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A., (Secretary).

1. Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at their eleventh meeting at Nagpur.

A conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments on the Resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their eleventh meeting (Appendix A) was placed on the table and unanimously approved.

2. Disposal of the old Dutch records at Chinsura.

(See Resolution 9 of the Fifth Meeting.)

Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, who had examined a portion of these records stated that most of them related to births, deaths, etc., and were not of much political or commercial interest; he was of opinion that they might be transferred to the Netherlands Government. Sir Jadunath Sarkar was in favour of sending the records in the first instance to the India Office for filling up any gaps there, with the option of transferring those that were not wanted to the Netherlands Government, if they so desired. Dr S. K. Aiyangar told the meeting that there were copious Dutch records also in Madras and Colombo and suggested that all the records in the Dutch language should be collected in one central place in India and dealt with as a whole. Mr H. G. Rawlinson suggested that the Government of Madras might be asked to report on the Dutch records in their possession. It was therefore resolved:—

Resolution 1.—That it is desirable that all the Dutch records in India should be collected in one record room in order to facilitate their preservation and study. Either the Imperial Record Department or the Madras Record Office would be a suitable centre, but this should be decided by the Government of India in consultation with the Local Governments concerned (Bengal, Bombay and Madras), who should be invited to report what Dutch records they have and on their willingness to house all such records. In the meantime the old Dutch records at Chinsura should be taken over by the Imperial Record Office.

3. Tenure of office of the Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

(See Resolutions IV and V of the Sixth Meeting.)

The Secretary brought to the notice of the meeting that the system of appointing corresponding members of the Commission at various centres in India and Burma was introduced in accordance with the Resolutions quoted above, but that there was no stipulation as to the length of the tenure of office of such members. The result was that a person could continue to be a corresponding member although he might have ceased to take any interest in the

work of the Commission. He moved that a period of three years be fixed for the purpose. It was unanimously resolved: —

Resolution 2.—That the Commission recommend that the term of office of the corresponding members be fixed at three years as is the case with the ordinary members of the Commission.

4. Representation of Burma on the Indian Historical Records Commission.

(See Resolution 13 of the Tenth Meeting.)

Mr Rawlinson suggested that Burma should have one permanent member of the Commission, as was recommended at the tenth meeting at Rangoon in 1927. The President said that he was quite in favour of the proposal but pointed out that it could not be acted on at once without increasing the number of members sanctioned. Dr Oka, the representative of the Dewas State, suggested that if the number be increased, provision should also be made for the permanent representation of the Indian States on the Commission. After some discussion on the latter proposal, the President observed that the question was a big one for the Commission to deal with, but that it was open to the States themselves to send representatives to the meetings of the Commission every year, if they so desired, who would as usual, be appointed as co-opted members. It was therefore resolved: —

Resolution 3.—That the Commission recommend that either (*i*) the ordinary membership be increased so as to permit of a member for Burma being included, or (*ii*) the next vacancy should go to Burma.

5. Preparation of Lists of Commemorative Tablets affixed by orders of Lord Curzon in 1904 on houses and buildings in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies.

Sir Evan Cotton, Kt., C.I.E., sent a list of the commemorative tablets in the Bengal Presidency (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Delhi and the Punjab), and suggested the preparation of similar lists for the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. The Secretary pointed out that such lists were already in existence in printed form. He was therefore directed to inform Sir Evan Cotton accordingly[1] and the following resolutions were passed: —

Resolution 4 (i).—That the Local Governments be requested to bring the lists up to date with necessary corrections and to send the revised copies for the information of the Commission.

(*ii*) That it be suggested to the Government of Bombay that the list for the Bombay Presidency should be sent to Mr Rawlinson, who is willing to revise it.

[1] This has since been done.

6. Establishment of a Central Society (with local branches) in Malwa and Rajputana, with the object of searching for, collecting, if possible (otherwise taking copies of), and bringing to the notice of students of history (by means of periodical lists or a special journal) important historical records in the possession of Indian States or private individuals throughout these territories.

After some discussion it was resolved:—

Resolution 5.—That the Indian Historical Records Commission request the Government of India to invite the attention of the Gwalior and other Indian States to the system recently adopted by the Government of Bombay, at the instance of this Commission (*vide* Resolution 3 of the ninth meeting and Resolution 15 (*ii*) of the tenth meeting), for taking cheap and rapid photographs of historical records in private possession and making them available to scholars for study, by keeping the photographs in a record office open to the public.

The following is an extract from the Resolution, No. 425, dated the 7th December 1929, passed by the Government of Bombay in the General Department on the subject:—

" At the instance of the Indian Historical Records Commission Government have had under consideration a scheme for the collection of facsimiles of documents and pictures of historical value in the possession of private families in the Presidency of Bombay and in adjoining States. They have now completed the necessary arrangements and invite any members of the public who possess such historical records to send them by registered post to the Chairman of the Selection Committee for examination. No charge will be made for examination or for reproduction.

" 2. If, on inspection, the members of the Committee deem the documents, etc., worthy of reproduction, they should send the selected documents to the Manager, Photozinco Press, Poona, for reproduction and he will return them to the Chairman of the Committee with two copies of the reproduction. The Chairman will retain one copy and deposit it in the Poona Daftar and return the original documents, etc., to the owner, with the other copy of the photograph."

The Commission understands that there are many families in Malwa, Rajputana and Berar, whose ancestors occupied important public offices in the past and who still hold historical records of great value in their private possession, but that these records are in many cases perishing through ignorance and neglect and the decay of the owner's condition, and are, at all events, lying useless on account of their being unknown and inaccessible to the public.

At the instance of Mr G. S. Sardesai the Commission passed the following resolution:—

Resolution 6.—The Indian Historical Records Commission request the Government of India to draw the attention of His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia's Government to the desirability of establishing a department for

collecting and publishing records connected with its history and the history of the States with which it had relations in the past. The Commission is encouraged to make this recommendation in view of the admirable efficiency and success of the sister department of Archæology already established by the Gwalior State.

7. Access of scholars to the records of the Provincial Governments.

The Home Member to the Gwalior Durbar gave notice of the following resolution:—

"That all Provincial Governments, and the Government of Bombay in particular, be moved to throw open their historical records for study to all *bonâ fide* historical research workers, subject to such rules for the preservation of the records or the exclusion of confidential or current records as usually obtain in Record offices in England."

The President explained that the records of the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments were open, subject to certain conditions, for inspection by the public for *bonâ fide* historical research. The resolution was therefore withdrawn.

8. List of Inscriptions on Christian tombs in Bihar and Orissa.

(See Resolution 11 of the Eleventh Meeting.)

The Hon'ble Mr Justice J. F. W. James, of the Patna High Court, who is a corresponding member of the Commission, placed before the meeting a copy of the following letter which he had written to the Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Revenue Department, regarding the revision of the list of pre-Mutiny tombs in that province:—

HIGH COURT, PATNA,
The 25th November 1929.

MY DEAR RUSSELL,

Will you kindly refer to your demi-official letter No. 10798 R/VIE-13, dated the 24th September 1929, which reached me after I had returned from leave. I have obtained from the Commissioner the lists of pre-Mutiny tombs for the Patna Division. There is certainly need for revision before they can be published but I am prepared to undertake the revision and editing of the Patna lists.

2. The other lists contain a number of obvious mistakes and I suppose that a list which is to be published under the authority of Government ought to be as perfect as possible. If nothing had hitherto been done and if I had been asked for my opinion on the question of whether these lists of tombs should be prepared, I think that I should not have recommended that they should be prepared at all in their present form. I cannot myself see any advantage to be gained by preparing lists of inscriptions on tombs of obscure persons who

cannot be said to rank as pioneers or in hunting out their antecedents as if they became worthy of a place in the Dictionary of National Biography merely by dying in Bihar and Orissa before 1860. Particularly, I certainly cannot see any advantage worth the trouble involved, that can be derived from publishing these inscriptions on tombs in an ordinary cemetery of persons who died at a date after the local registers of burials were maintained. There may be some point in recording inscriptions on tombs dating at a time before the local registers were opened, because mufassil burials were not entered in the St. John's Church Registers before 1772, and I doubt whether the entries were always mad' regularly after that date.

3. If lists of persons buried in the various districts of Bihar and Orissa before 1860 had been required, I would have preferred to see them prepared in the following way. I would have made as the basis of the list an index to the burial registers, giving the name of the person buried, his age, and the year of death, and I would only have given inscriptions on tombs in remote places where persons were buried whose names do not appear in the registers, together with those on the tombs of persons buried before the local burial registers were opened. As for the historical or biographical notes, such as were needed would better have been included in a brief introduction stating what were the burial places in the district, and giving their history so far as known. In one cemetery of Dinapore the number of inscriptions copied out is 700, mostly of Queen Victoria's reign, with all the doggerel verses and pious quotations which are ordinarily of no permanent interest.

4. I would prefer to undertake the revision of the Patna lists on the lines I have suggested. I expect that the burial registers of Gaya were lost in 1857 and for that district the publication of all the inscriptions might be justified, though even for that district I suppose the copies of entries in the burial registers, which should be prepared quarterly, have been preserved by the Diocesan Registrar. In the other two districts sufficient material has been collected to enable a comparison to be made between the registers and the tombs, which may possibly disclose omissions in the registers, when persons happened to be buried in the absence of the Chaplain and the Magistrate, and give us some indication of how far the registers are complete. A list of this kind may in that way serve some useful purpose, which I do not think can be said of the lists in their present form: but the question of whether the lists in all the districts should be revised on these lines may I think be left pending until we know the result of the comparison in the districts of the Patna Division.

Yours sincerely,

J. F. W. JAMES.

To

R. E. RUSSELL, Esqr., I.C.S.,

Secretary to Government,

B. & O., Revenue Department.

After a full consideration of the matter the Commission approved of the manner in which Mr Justice James desired to have the lists prepared especially as regards the inscriptions prior to 1860.

Mr R. M. Crofton, Deputy Commissioner of Jubbulpore, and a corresponding member of the Commission, informed the meeting that many inscriptions on tombs in the Central Provinces required repair. He was asked by the President to send a list of such tombs either to the Secretary or to himself for further action.

9. Treatment of the records in the Peshwas' Daftar.

(See Resolution 1 of the Eleventh Meeting.)

The following note by Sir Jadunath Sarkar was placed before the meeting and a lively discussion ensued, in which Sir Jadunath, Mr Rawlinson, Mr D. V. Potdar and Mr G. S. Sardesai took prominent part:—

Note by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

The records, popularly known as the Peshwas' Daftar, preserved in the Land Alienation Office, Poona, contain a vast mass of papers of various degrees of value and uselessness. The Persian bundles referring to the 17th and 18th centuries were examined by me in 1924 and the suggestion made below (in paragraph 6) is based on my impressions as to their character. The Marathi records have been examined by Mr Sardesai during the last six months, and his conclusions, based on a fair sampling of representative bundles chosen out of this unwieldy mass, have been incorporated in the proposals made below.

1. The first work needed in connection with these records is their rough classification into—

(*a*) really important documents illustrative of history;

(*b*) papers throwing light on society, religion or economic conditions in the past;

(*c*) documents of a purely private character (such as legal deeds, grants, appeals, &c.) which have only an indirect bearing on history; and

(*d*) private letters, accounts, &c., of no historical value and often unintelligible on account of the absence of dates and names.

In addition there are (*e*) many scraps of brown packing paper, (*f*) lithographed sheets of advertisements (19th century), leaves of school books and other kinds of rubbish indiscriminately tied up with the records in the same bundles.

2. The very unwieldy size of this collection, miscalled records,—amounting, at a rough computation, to 50 million separate sheets,—makes it impossible either to examine each paper in it critically and minutely or to preserve

the whole of this mass by properly dusting and airing the contents from time to time. The future preservation and utilisation of the real historical records in this collection (*viz.*, classes (*a*) and (*b*) of paragraph 1) make it imperative that the wheat should be separated from the chaff, so that proper attention may be paid to papers of historical value. In the attempt to preserve them under the conditions obtaining hithertofore, the entire lot would be destroyed in the course of the next 20 or 30 years.

3. For such a separation of the documents of real historical significance from the papers of little or no utility, the Bombay Government has been singularly happy in securing the assistance of Mr G. S. Sardesai, B.A., who has, during a lifetime devoted to research, digested the contents of all the printed historical documents in Marathi and English, published a fully detailed survey of the entire course of Maratha history from the rise of that nation to 1795 in seven volumes, and whose work has been likened by a competent authority on Maratha history like the Hon'ble Mr Justice Kincaid, I.C.S., to Voltaire's "Age of Louis XIV." No narrow specialist, with his training and gaze confined to one small period or one minute topic, can possibly classify these records like Mr Sardesai. After the historical records properly so-called have been picked out and chronologically arranged, the time will come when each minute specialist will critically examine and elucidate those bearing on his particular sub-section, and his work will be rendered possible only by the preliminary sorting that is now being done.

4. Historical records of class (*a*) should be kept in separate bundles, after being flattened and, where necessary, repaired. Each document of this class, should be stamped and numbered. And after a short hand-list of them (like the reference-lists of the contents of the British Museum or the India Office Library used by students working there) has been printed, these records should be thrown open to scholars for study under the usual rules.

5. As for the documents belonging to class (*b*), in view of the fact that selections from them, running to twelve volumes (edited by Vad and Parasnis), were published by the Bombay Government, the listing and further publication of these documents can reasonably wait till after the documents of class (*a*) have been listed and published. The (*b*) class documents should for the present be merely sorted and kept in separate bundles, and reserved for more elaborate treatment after the work on class (*a*) is finished.

6. The Persian news-letters in manuscript (*akhbar* or *akhbarat*) all belong to the early 19th century. They should be flattened and arranged according to their dates. A list of them, giving the name and place of the writer and the date of writing, of each, can be easily prepared. The documents should be stamped, and numbered, and thrown open to study with the help of a printed list like those recommended above.

7. The useless leaves, scraps and packing papers, etc., classes (*e*) and (*f*) contained in the bundles should, after inspection by a responsible officer, be destroyed, in order to lighten the work of preserving the papers of real value.

8. If funds permit, and after the documents of classes, (*a*), and (*b*) have been classified and listed, Government may undertake to classify, but in a more summary and general manner, the documents of class (*c*); otherwise they may, after inspection by members of the Indian Historical Records Commission and such officers as the Bombay Government may choose to depute, be transferred to learned societies like the Poona Bharat Itihas Mandal.

9. The documents of class (*d*) may, after a similar inspection, be handed over to such societies, as it will never be possible for Government to arrange them according to dates or topics and list and number each separate sheet of this class—not to speak of publishing selections from them.

It was ultimately resolved :—

Resolution 7 (*i*).—That this Commission whilst desiring to express their appreciation of what has recently been done by the Bombay Government for the preservation and classification of the records in the Peshwas' Daftar, commend the suggestion contained in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's note above to the notice of that Government for further action and would express the hope that early steps may be taken to carry them into effect.

(*ii*) The Commission further recommend that the purely historical documents already selected and classified should be thrown open to students subject to the usual rules and that a hand-list of these only should be compiled and printed as soon as possible.

(*iii*) It is also desirable that the publication of selected historical documents from the collection should be undertaken as funds permit. As these records often relate to the affairs of India in general and are not confined to what happened in the territories now included in the Bombay Presidency, they are of more than provincial interest. The Commission would, therefore, recommend that the Government of India be pleased to make a grant, in aid of their publication, to the Government of Bombay, and would suggest that a sum of Rs. 3,000 be provided for this purpose in the Imperial Budget for the next year, which in their opinion would be sufficient for the purpose.

10. Preservation of the Mackenzie Collection of Manuscripts.

The Commission considered the following note by Dr S. K. Aiyangar :—

The Mackenzie Manuscripts.

This is a whole mass of records in various languages collected by Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Mackenzie and his staff during his period of office as Surveyor to the Madras Government. They embody the information that Mackenzie's staff were able to collect by way of what was known to the people at the time, and the records themselves are of varying character of historical reliability. They comprise all sorts of historical records including inscriptions. The collection that was then made Mackenzie could not use as he died before he could sit down to doing what he actually intended doing. When he died, therefore,

the manuscripts were almost as good as going to waste, when Mrs Mackenzie's influence and a certain amount of enlightened interest of the Government of India of the days of the Marquis of Hastings combined, and I believe, it was the Government of India that acquired the collection by paying Mrs Mackenzie 10,000 pounds as compensation for the very much larger expenditure that Mackenzie had incurred in making the collection. Having bought it, the Government of India made it over to the Asiatic Society, who found it very difficult to keep it in order, and therefore they came to the ultimate conclusion to send away the English part of it to the India Office, and the vernacular part of it to Madras, where it ultimately found its place in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. It has been lying there since, not very conveniently housed, nor perhaps taken as good care of, as the collection deserves. Quite recently, the India Office catalogued the English portion, and in the course of that work, Professor F. W. Thomas of Oxford, who was then the Librarian in the India Office, found that the translation left something to be desired, and suggested to and even wrote to the University that it would be well if the manuscript collections could be taken over and the whole of the mass of the records examined with a view to utilising that which may be really useful and destroying that which is actually useless. My efforts since to interest the Madras University or the Madras Government in the matter have not been successful, and at the last meeting of the Oriental Manuscripts Library Committee, I again suggested that the Government might be moved to do something, and the Director of Public Instruction undertook to write to the University and ascertain if they would be willing to do anything. There the matter stands.

The Indian Historical Records Commission being what it is, and certainly interested in the historical records of India as a whole, would be the proper body to tackle the question, and it may be that the Government of India, having spent such a large sum initially, may be willing to come forward with an annual provision for doing the work suggested by Professor Thomas. It is with a view to such a possibility that I should like the matter being put before the Indian Historical Records Commission. If the Commission should agree with me that the matter is deserving of consideration, I shall certainly be very glad to make more detailed proposals.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

MADRAS:
The 8th December 1929.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 8.—That the Commission recommend to the Government of Madras that such portions of the Mackenzie manuscripts as are showing signs of crumbling should be copied in batches.

11. Proposed publication of a new edition of Eliot & Dowson's "History of India as told by its own Historians".

Mr Rawlinson proposed that the Government of India should undertake the preparation of a new edition of the work and should appoint a Committee to make a report on the subject. As the publication would cover periods in Indian history which are beyond the scope of the Commission, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and other members were of opinion that the work could better be done by private research scholars and learned societies than by this Commission. The proposal was ultimately withdrawn.

12. Use of Vacuum Cleaners by Siemens (India) Ltd., in Record Offices in India.

(See Resolution 7 of the Ninth Meeting and further Resolutions passed at the Tenth and Eleventh Meetings.)

The Commission have always recommended the use of vacuum cleaners, such as the Sturtevant Vacuum Cleaners, for preserving documents in Record Offices from the ravages of dust. These machines are costly, and a new vacuum cleaner "Protos" invented by Messrs. Siemens (India), Ltd, which costs only Rs 150 and can be more easily handled, is available in the market and is already in use in the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta. The Commission recorded their opinion to the following effect:—

Resolution 9.—That this Commission desire that the above fact may be brought to the notice of the Local Governments and Administrations in India with a view to the introduction of the new vacuum cleaner in their record rooms.

13. Historical records published by the Gwalior Durbar.

(*i*) The Commission recorded their appreciation of the valuable service to history rendered by Sardar Anand Rao Bhausahib Phalke of Gwalior in printing the Kotah records relating to the Sindhias and desired that the Government of India might be pleased to convey the thanks of the Commission to the Gwalior Durbar and through them to Sardar Phalke for their laudable endeavours in supplying the needs of this branch of Indian history.

(*ii*) The Commission also desire that the Gwalior Government may be requested to reprint for the use of the public a cheap edition of the four volumes of Marathi State-papers relating to the Sindhias, of which a very limited number was privately printed at the expense of the Gwalior State under the editorship of the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.

14. Date and Place of the next meeting.

The Commission authorised the Secretary to decide this question in consultation with the permanent members, and subject to the approval of the Government of India.

The following papers and publications were laid on the table:—

(*a*) Annual Report of Records Offices in India.

(*b*) Report of the progress of the work of classification of the "Company" records in the Imperial Record Department.

(*c*) Reports of the research work done by the undermentioned Corresponding Members:—

1. The Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Bombay.[1]
2. Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Rajahmundry.

(*d*) Lists of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province sent by the Government of the Punjab in compliance with the request contained in Resolution No 13 passed by the Indian Historical Records Commission at their 11th session at Nagpur. (2 Volumes.)

(*e*) Statement showing the prices of the 3 volumes of "Bengal and Madras Papers" collected by the late Sir G. W. Forrest, copies of which have been placed on sale in accordance with Resolution No. 1 passed at the 9th session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Lucknow. (Vol. I—Rs. 20, Vol. II—Rs. 30, Vol. III—Rs. 20.)

(*f*) *Source Book on Maratha History, Volume I.—To the Death of Shivaji.* By R. P. Patwardhan, B.A., and H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., *Bombay*, 1929 (General Editor: H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona). Compiled in accordance with Resolution IX passed at the first meeting and Resolution VIII passed at the fifth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

(*g*) Letter from the Government of Bombay, No 425/C., dated the 21st December 1928, to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, regarding the treatment of the records in the Bombay Secretariat.

(*h*) Note showing the action taken by the Government of Assam with regard to the preservation, classification, cataloguing, etc., official records, together with a copy of the Rules regulating the access of the public to the records of the District Headquarters. (App. C.)

The meeting then terminated with Sir Jadunath Sarkar proposing a vote of thanks to the President, in which he desired to record the unanimous feeling of the members present in appreciation of the tact and universal courtesy of Sir Frank Noyce, to which the success of the session was entirely due. Professor Potdar in seconding desired to record a vote of thanks also to the Secretary Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali. Both the votes were passed unanimously.

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[1] A summary of the report is given in App. B.

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments on the Resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Eleventh Meeting.

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
Peshwa's Daftar.			
(*See* Resolution 2* of the Tenth meeting).			* The Commission reaffirms last year's resolution regarding the Peshwa's Daftar and urges upon the Government of Bombay the necessity of making provision in their next year's budget to enable the work of preliminary inspection to be carried out immediately.
Resolution 1.—The Commission request the Government of Bombay to expedite the matter.	Communicated to the Government of Bombay.		
Examination and cataloguing of the Poona Residency Records.			
(*See* Resolution 3 of the Tenth Meeting).			
Resolution 2.—The Commission recommend that the work be continued, in view of the satisfactory progress already made and the valuable new material brought to light.	Ditto.		
Treatment of records in the Bombay Secretariat.			
(*See* Resolution 17 of the Tenth Meeting).			
Resolution 3.—The Commission have not received any intimation on points (*a*) and (*f*) of the Resolution quoted above, which were communicated to the Government of Bombay, and inquire if there is any objection to addressing the Local Government regarding points (*b*) to (*e*) of the Resolution as the information therein asked for is necessary for the future working of the Commission.	The Government of Bombay have been addressed with regard to points (*b*) to (*e*) as desired by the Commission.	Information on points (*a*) and (*f*) was received with the Government of Bombay's letter No 425/C, dated the 21st December 1928, and circulated to the members of the Commission.	

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
Continuation of the publication "The English Factories in India." (*See* Resolution 7 of the Tenth Meeting).			
Resolution 4.—In view of the present financial difficulties, the Commission agree with the proposal of the Government of India to postpone the work for 5 years, but express the hope that as soon as the financial position permits, the publication of the series may be resumed.	The Secretary of State for India has been addressed accordingly.		
Transfer of the Company Records in the Imperial Record Department from Calcutta to New Delhi. (*See* Resolution 10 of the Tenth Meeting).			
Resolution 5(i).—The quantity of papers shown as "unclassified" in the Report of the Records Sub-Committee, dated the 12th November 1927 (p. 156 of Volume X of Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission), was determined on an average calculation of the capacity of a bundle of records, but from the experience since gained in the matter, it appears to the Commission that the actual number of documents which remain to be classified will be somewhat less than was originally assumed. The Commission therefore think that with the staff at present detailed for the classification of the Company records in the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta, the work should be completed in about seven years' time. *Resolution 5(ii).*—As regards the transfer of the classified and repaired records from Calcutta to New Delhi by instalments, the Commission	The Government of India have accepted the recommendations of the Commission and directed that the first instalment of "Company" records should be removed to New Delhi after 3 years, *i.e.* in 1932, and that subsequently the records should be		

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
are of opinion that effect should be given to this decision three years hence when sufficient progress has been made in flattening and repairing the records and those papers which do not bear dates and numbers or correct indications about their locations and which are occasionally coming to light during the process of classification will also have been examined and arranged. The Commission recommend that the records should then be sent to New Delhi in batches every year, necessary precautions being taken to prevent damages in transit.	removed to New Delhi each year as they are flattened and repaired.		
Free interchange of all Record Room publications. (*See* Resolution 12 of the Tenth Meeting).			
Resolution 6.—H. E. H. the Nizam's Government and the Baroda State be included in the scheme of the free interchange of Record Room publications in India.	The opinions of the Local Governments and Administrations have been called for.	..	Since sanctioned.
Collection of facsimiles of historical documents in the possession of private families in the Central Provinces. (*See* Resolution 15(ii) of the Tenth Meeting).			
Resolution 7.—The Commission recommend to the Government of the Central Provinces that a wholetime officer in charge of their records be appointed and that steps be taken to set up machinery for the collection of facsimiles of all documents of historical value in the possession of private families in the Central Provinces, by means of a Photostat or some other method of permanent reproduction. All such facsimiles may be kept under the care	Communicated to the Government of the Central Provinces.		

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
of the officer in charge of the records and made available for the use of research scholars.			
Grant of access to the records of the Central Provinces to the public for purposes of historical research.			
Resolution 8.—The Commission recommend to the Government of the Central Provinces that the Indexes to their records be made accessible to the public by showing or by lending them to research scholars on proper deposit, as it facilitates historical inquiries by enabling scholars to locate the exact documents which they want to consult and indicate the line for searching them by enquiries in the Record Office itself.	Communicated to the Government of the Central Provinces.		
Resolution 9.—The Commission recommend that the Rules regulating the access of the public to the records in the Central Provinces Secretariat Record Room be printed and published in the provincial gazette and made available for distribution to historical societies and universities.	Ditto.		
Resolution 10.—The Commission recommend to the Government of the Central Provinces the desirability of resuming the publication of the old historical documents in its possession when the provincial finances permit, as the records dealing with historical information could usefully be made available to scholars.	Ditto.		
List of Inscriptions on Christian Burial Grounds.			
(*See* Section V of the Proceedings of the Fourth Meeting).			
Resolution 11.—The Commission recommend that a copy of Sir Evan Cotton's notes	Communicated to the Government of Bihar and Orissa.		

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
be forwarded to the Government of Bihar and Orissa with the request that necessary corrections may be made in the book.*			* Correction have since been made.
Resolution 12.—The Commission are of opinion that, instead of publishing selected inscriptions as recommended in Resolution 4 passed at their Rangoon session, the Government of Bombay be requested to have all inscriptions prior to 1860 copied and published and circulated to historical societies.	Communicated to the Government of Bombay.		
Resolution 13.—The Commission will be glad to see the list which, it is understood, has been published by the Government of the Punjab.	Communicated to the Government of the Punjab.	Two vols. of Inscriptions have been supplied by the Government of the Punjab.	The books were placed on the table.
Introduction of Sturtevant Vacuum Cleaner in the Bengal Record Office.			
Resolution 14.—The Commission are concerned to learn that the records of the Government of Bengal are rapidly deteriorating from the ravages of dust and beg to draw the attention of the Local Government to the need of acquiring a Sturtevant Vacuum Cleaner for the Record Room as early as possible.	Communicated to the Government of Bengal.		
Deputation of the Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission to Indian States.			
(*See* Resolution 3 of the Sixth Meeting).			
Resolution 15.—The Commission do not intend to move in the matter, but they will be prepared to consider the case of any particular State which may desire to have their Record Rooms inspected by members of the Commission or seek the advice of the Commission on matters relating to the treatment of the official records of the State.			The Government of India have made no comment on this Resolution.

Resolution of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
Appointment of a corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Pondicherry.			
Resolution 16.—The Commission recommend that Mons. A. Balasubramanium Pillai, a member of the Historical Society of French India, and who is the representative of the French Government in India at this session of the Commission, be appointed a corresponding member for Pondicherry in place of Mons. A. Singaravelou Pillai, deceased.	Approved.		
Date and place of the next meeting.			
Resolution 17.—The Secretary is authorised to fix the date and place of the next meeting in consultation with the permanent members of the Commission.	The invitation of the Gwalior Government to hold the meeting in that State in December 1929 was accepted.		

APPENDIX B.

Summary of the Report submitted by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St Xavier's College, Bombay, and a Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Father H. Heras, S.J., reported that the Indian Historical Research Institute, founded by him in the St Xavier's College, Bombay, has been doing very useful work in unearthing historical records in the Bombay Record Office as well as by visits to many historical sites in Western India. For example, the documents thus found throw much light on (*a*) the relations between the Siddis of Janjira and the British of Bombay, (*b*) the relations between Tipu Sultan and the French, and (*c*) the Karnatak under the Kadamba kings. He also reported that the Bombay Historical Society's Journal is publishing original documents in every issue in a section entitled *Monumenta Historiæ Indiæ*. The attention of the scholarly world is drawn to this useful work.

APPENDIX C.

Summary of a Note by Mr S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, and a Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission for Assam, presented to the Commission at their Twelfth Session with the permission of the Local Government.

1. A commodious and up-to-date Provincial Record Office is under construction near the Assam Civil Secretariat at Shillong. The Local Government is considering the question of preparation of a catalogue of the old records in the Assam Secretariat.

2. In 1929 the subjoined rules were substituted for those issued in 1920 with a view to regulating the access of the public to the records of the District Headquarters in Assam.

3. In 1928 the Local Government published a pamphlet on "Early British relations with Assam" by Professor S. K. Bhuyan, which dealt with the value of historical materials available in the Government Archives in Assam.

RULES REGULATING THE ACCESS OF THE PUBLIC TO THE RECORDS OF THE DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS.

NOTE.—These rules are applicable only to cases where documents are required for *bonâ fide* historical research.

1. The Record office is open daily except on Sundays and other holidays.

2. The hours of admission shall be from 10-30 A.M. to 4-30 P.M. on all days except Saturdays and from 10-30 A.M. to 1-30 P.M. on Saturdays.

3. Persons desiring to examine the records of the district headquarters must apply in writing to the Deputy Commissioner stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications and the object for which they wish to examine them.

4. Government reserve to themselves the right to refuse any application or to accept it with such modifications as they consider necessary.

5. Permission to inspect the records will remain valid only for two months from the date on which it is granted. If advantage is not taken of the permission or if the inspection of records is not completed within this period, a further application will be necessary for permission to inspect or continue to inspect the records as the case may be. All applications made under this rule will be disposed of by the Deputy Commissioner.

6. Records may be inspected only within the Record office and in the presence of a member of the Record staff. In any particular case the Deputy Commissioner may impose such further conditions as he deems necessary to ensure the preservation and proper treatment of records.

7. Copies or extracts from the records shall not be taken out of the office building nor shall any use be made of the information gained from the records without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner.

8. Persons not desiring or unable to examine the records themselves may apply to the Deputy Commissioner for a search to be made at their cost and the Deputy Commissioner will, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken by some member of the Record staff.

9. Typed copies of documents may be obtained from the Record department with the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner on payment at the rate of one anna for every 50 words.

10. No volume or paper should be delivered to any person using the Record office until he has signed a receipt for the same. Records must be given back to the Assistant in charge as soon as they are no longer required and the receipt will then be returned.

11. No person may have more than five "original consultations" or two volumes out at one time.

Documents in a fragile condition should be handed over singly or subject to such conditions as the Deputy Commissioner may deem necessary for their safety.

12. Large folio volumes should be placed on book rests and handled as little as possible.

13. No person may lean on any of the documents or put one document on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

14. No mark of any description may be made on any record.

15. With a view to prevent ink being spilt on records the use of an ink-stand will not be allowed. If the volumes or documents can be placed on book rests a fountain pen may be used for the purpose of taking notes or extracts; in all other cases notes or extracts must be taken in pencil.

16. Tracings of signatures and drawings may be made only with the permission of the Deputy Commissioner and subject to such conditions as he may impose.

Permission should not be given if it appears to the Deputy Commissioner that the process of tracing is likely to damage the document.

17. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on these records must deposit in the office of the Deputy Commissioner one copy of each of the works immediately after publication.

18. No person may chew *pan* or other like substance while working in the Record office, nor may he place any articles of food on tables meant to be used for keeping records, documents or other papers.

19. Smoking is strictly prohibited in the Record rooms.

APPENDIX D.

Bibliography of the Published Works of the Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Names of Members.	Particulars of works.
1. Sir Frank Noyce, Kt, C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, and *ex-officio* President of the Indian Historical Records Commission.	1. England, India and Afghanistan (Le Bas University essay. University of Cambridge, 1902, Cambridge University Press). 2. Agricultural Trading Societies—one of the studies in Indian Co-operative Studies, edited by R. B. Ewbank, I.C.S. (Oxford University Press, 1920).
2. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt, C.I.E., M.A. (formerly of the Indian Educational Service and late Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University).	1. India of Aurangzib: Statistics, Topography and Roads (1901). 2. Economics of British India (4th Edition. 1917). 3. History of Aurangzib, complete in 5 Volumes. Volumes I and II (2nd Edition, 1925), Volume III (3rd Edition, 1928), Volume IV (2nd Edition, 1930) and Volume V (1924). 4. Shivaji and His Times (3rd Edition, 1929). 5. Studies in Mughal India (2nd Edition, 1919). 6. Anecdotes of Aurangzib (2nd Edition, 1925). 7. Persian text of *Akham-i-Alamgiri* (2nd Edition, 1926). 8. Chaitanya (2nd Edition, 1922). 9. India through the Ages (1928). 10. Mughal Administration (2nd Edition, 1924). 11. A short History of Aurangzib (1930). 12. Edited and continued W. Irvine's *Later Mughals*, 2 Volumes. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta.

Names of Members.	Particulars of works.
3. Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona.	1. Bastria, the History of a Forgotten Empire (Hare University Prize, Cambridge), 1908. Probesthain & Co.
	2. Indian Historical Studies. Longmans, 1912.
	3. Shivaji the Maratha. Oxford, 1914.
	4. Intercourse between India and the West Cambridge, 1915. 2nd Edition, 1923.
	5. British Beginnings in Western India. Oxford, 1922.
	6. History of Napier's Rifles. Oxford, 1929.
	7. Source Book of Maratha History, Volume I.—To the death of Shivaji. Bombay, 1929. (Jointly with Mr R. P. Patwardhan, B. A.).
	8. Edited Forbe's *Ras Mala*, and Ovington's *Voyage to Suratt* for the Oxford University Press.
	9. Also: Edited *Mrs Becher's Diary;* Lady Falkland's *Chow Chow;* Captain Basil Hall's *Voyages.*
	10. Contributed numerous articles to various Oriental Journals: and 2 Chapters to *Cambridge History of India,* Volume II.
4. Mr H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Government College, Lahore, and Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.	1. A History of the Sikhs—Cunningham (New Edition). Oxford University Press, 1916.
	2. The Mohammedan period of Indian History (in collaboration with S. R. Kohli, M.A.). Longmans, 1926.
	3. The European Adventurers in North India, 1789-1844 (in collaboration with C. Grey). Punjab Government Press, 1929.
	4. Mughal Rule in India (in collaboration with the late S. M. Edwards, I.C.S.). Oxford University Press, 1930.
	5. General Editor—Punjab Government Record Office Publications. Eight Monographs, published up to date—
	(*i*) The History of the Grand Trunk Road (Sarkar).

Names of Members.	Particulars of works.
	(*ii*) The History of the Judiciary in the Punjab, 1849-1884 (Hauda). (*iii*) The History of the Judiciary in the Punjab, 1884-1925 (Kapur). (*iv*) The History of the Old Police Battalions in the Punjab (Editor). (*v*) The History of Police in the Punjab (Kalia). (*vi*) The History of Education in the Punjab (Mehta). (*vii*) The History of Local Self Government in the Punjab (Tuksal). (*viii*) Colonization of Chenab Colony (Dya Singh).
5. Mr G. S. Sardesai, B.A. (late of the Baroda State Service).	1. Main Currents of Maratha History—Patna University Lectures, 1926. *Marathi.* 2. Mussalmani Riyasat (History of Muhammadan India), 2 Volumes. 3. Marathi Riyasat (History of the Marathas), 1600-1795. 7 Volumes. 4. British Riyasat (History of British India), 1600-1757, Volume 1. (Further volumes are in course of preparation.)
6. Dr Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., M.L.C., Professor of Modern Indian History, University of Allahabad.	1. History of English Education during the years 1689-1750. Madras 1920. 2. Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay, 1660-67. Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1922. 3. East India Trade in the XVIIth Century. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1923. 4. Sources for the History of the XVIIth Century. British India in the British Archives. Oxford University Press, 1926. Edited and arranged.

Names of Members.	Particulars of works.
	5. John Marshall in India, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1927.
7. Mr A. V. V. Ayyar, M.A., L.T., Officiating Curator, Madras Record Office.	Edited the following records of Fort St George (Published by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras):— (1) Diary and Consultation Books, 1704-18. 15 Volumes. (2) Despatches to England, 1711-33. 4 Volumes. (3) Despatches from England, 1686-92, 1696-99 and 1721-29. 5 Volumes. (4) Letters from Fort St George, 1703-04. One Volume. (5) James Strange's Journal and Narrative of the Commercial Expedition from Bombay to the North-West Coast of America. One Volume. (6) A monograph on the Life and Times of Chalukya Vikramādityā VI (in Tamil). (7) Contributed articles to various literary Journals.
	I.—*Official publications.*
8. Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., (Keeper of the Records of the Government of India and *ex-officio* Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission).	1. Index to the Press-lists of the Public Department records, 1748-1800. 2. A hand-book to the Records of the Government of India in the Imperial Record Department, 1748-1859. 3. List of the Heads of Administrations in India and of the India Office in England (corrected up to 1st October 1928). 4. Calendar of Persian Correspondence (being letters which passed between the Company's servants and Indian rulers), Vol. IV, 1772-75. 5. Calendar of Persian Correspondence (being letters which passed between the Company's servants and Indian rulers), Volume V, 1776-80.

Names of Members.	Particulars of works.
	II.—*Monographs.*
	6. The Early History of Manipur, 1923.
	7. The last Will and Testament of Bahu Begam, 1924.
	8. The Silk Industry in Bengal in the days of John Company, 1925.
	9. The life and times of Ranjit Singh, 1925.
	10. Shuja-ud-Daulah, Nawab Vizir of Oudh, 1926.
	11. The East India Company's Missions: Commercial envoys through the wilds of Burma in the early part of the nineteenth century, 1927.
	12. Commercial and Social intercourse between the Hon'ble East India Company and the Poona Court in the eighteenth century, 1928.
	13. Mahadji Sindhia of Gwalior, 1929.
	14. A short Guide to the Indian Museum, 1927.

APPENDIX E.

List of Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission (up to December 1929).

Serial No.	Name.	Centres.
	Madras Presidency.	
1.	Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S., 'Sripadam', 143, Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras.	
2.	Dr John Matthai, B.L., B. Litt., D.Sc., Professor of Economics, Presidency College, Madras.	
3.	Mr M. Ruthnaswami, Principal, Law College, Madras.	Madras.
4.	Mr C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., I.C.S., Member, Board of Revenue, Fort St George, Madras.	
5.	Mr C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.	
6.	Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Government Arts College and Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.	Rajahmundry.
7.	Mr M. S. Ramaswami Aiyyangar, M.A., Professor of History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram.	Vizianagram.
	Bombay Presidency.	
8.	Mr S. T. Sheppard, Editor, The Times of India, Bombay.	
9.	The Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St Xavier's College, Bombay.	Bombay.
10.	Dr Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.	Kolhapur.
11.	Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona. (*Appointed member of the Commission.*)	
12.	Mr D. V. Potdar, B.A., Professor, Sir Parashram Bhau College, 180, Shanwar Peth, Poona.	
13.	Sardar G. N. Mazumdar, M.L.C., 187, Kasba Peth, Poona.	Poona.
14.	Mr G. S. Sardesai, B.A., Kamshet P. O., District Poona. (*Appointed member of the Commission.*)	
15.	Mr H. G. Franks, Journalist, Poona.	

Serial No.	Name.	Centres.
	Bengal Presidency.	
16.	Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Carmichael, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, 35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.	
17.	Dr Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.	Calcutta.
18.	Shams-ul-Ulama Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hidayet Hosain, Principal, Calcutta Madrasa, Calcutta.	
19.	Mr Badruddin Ahmad, B.A., Assistant Registrar, Appellate Side, High Court, Calcutta.	
20.	Mr B. N. Banerji, 13, Bethune Row, Calcutta.	
21.	Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, M.A., M.B.E., I.E.S., Offg. Principal, Chittagong College, Chittagong.	Chittagong.
22.	Dr J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Economics, Dacca University.	
23.	Mr A. F. Rahman, B.A. (Oxon).	Dacca.
24.	Hakim Habib-ur-Rahman, Member of the Dacca University Court.	
25.	The Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., M.A., St Joseph's College, North Point, Darjeeling.	Darjeeling.
	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	
26.	Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Archæological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Agra.	Agra.
27.	Dr Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History, Lucknow University.	Lucknow.
	The Punjab.	
28.	Mr H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore. (*Appointed member of the Commission.*)	
29.	Mr A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University, Lahore.	Lahore.
30.	Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, Advocate, High Court and President of the Punjab Historical Society, Kapilavastu, Lahore.	
31.	Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., Lecturer, Government College, Lahore.	

Serial No.	Name.	Centres.

Bihar and Orissa.

32.	The Hon'ble Mr Justice J. F. W. James, M.A. (Oxon), Bar.-at-Law, I.C.S., High Court, Patna.	Patna.

Burma.

33.	Mr G. E. Harvey, B.A., I.C.S., Superintendent, Northern Shan States, Lashio.	Lashio.
34.	U. Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., I.S.O., M.R.A.S., Editor, of the Hlutdaw Records, Mandalay.	Mandalay.
35.	Mr D. G. E. Hall, M.A., F.R. Hist., S., Professor of History and Fellow of the University of Rangoon, Rangoon.	Rangoon.
36.	U. Khin Maung, B.A., Director of Publicity, Burma Secretariat, Rangoon.	Rangoon.
37.	Mr G. H. Luce, M.A., I.E.S., Lecturer, University College, Rangoon.	Rangoon.
38.	U. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B. Litt., I.E.S., Professor of Oriental Studies, University of Rangoon, Rangoon.	Rangoon.
39.	U. Ba Dun, Bar.-at-Law, Secretary, Burma Legislative Council, Rangoon.	Rangoon.
40.	Mr J. S. Furnivall, B.A., I.C.S. (Retd.) Director, Burma Book Club, Rangoon.	Rangoon.
41.	Mr L. F. Taylor, M.A., F.R.A.I., I.E.S., Inspector of Schools, Sagaing.	Sagaing.

Central Provinces and Berar.

42.	Mr Y. M. Kale, Buldana (Berar).	Buldana.
43.	Mr R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Jubbulpore.	Jubbulpore.
44.	The Rt Rev. Alex Wood, M.A., D.D., Lord Bishop of Nagpur, Nagpur.	Nagpur.
45.	Mr J. B. Raju, M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S., Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces.	Nagpur.

Assam.

46.	Mr S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati and Hony. Assistant Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam.	Gauhati.

Serial No.	Name.	Centres.
	Mysore.	
47.	Mr C. Hayavadana Rao, Editor, Mysore Economic Journal, Siddicutta, Bangalore.	Bangalore.
	French India.	
48.	Mr A. Balasubramanium Pillai, Member, Historical Society of French India and Head Clerk, His Excellency the Governor's Office, Pondicherry.	Pondicherry.
	Portuguese India.	
49.	Mr Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences, Nova Goa, Portuguese India.	Nova Goa.



OLD ARMS DISPLAYED AT THE HISTORICAL EXHIBITION
HELD AT GWALIOR IN DECEMBER 1929
IN CONNECTION WITH THE TWELFTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

APPENDIX F.

Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, Paintings, Seals and Coins, etc., exhibited at Gwalior in connection with the 12th Annual Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

From the Imperial Record Department.

1-5. Copies of *farmans* from the Mughal Emperor Shah 'Alam, granting the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company and copy of an agreement between the Company and the Nawab of Murshidabad, the previous Diwan, in consequence of the above grant. (Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, nos 2-6.)

6. Original notes and minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, the Hon. A. Ross and the Hon. Lt-Col W. Morrison, C.B., Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department. There are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr Prinsep's minute by the Hon. T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, Member of the Supreme Council. (Pub. 7 Mar. 1835, no 19 and Keepwiths.)

7. Lord Auckland's minute on the promotion of education among the natives of India. (G. G.'s Pub. 24 Nov. 1839, no 10.)

8. Letter from Captain W. Richardson submitting a report of his voyage from London to purchase slaves for Fort Marlbro'. (Pub. 22 Aug. 1765, no 1.)

9-11. List of presents made by the Peshwa and the Ministers at Poona to Lieut-Gen. Sir John Clavering and Mr Richard Barwell. (Pub. 11 Aug. 1777, nos 2, 3 and A.)

12. Correspondence with Mr C. W. Malet, Resident at Poona, on the subject of the establishment of a fixed and regular *dak* between Western India and the Presidencies of Fort William and Fort St George. (Pub. 22 Apr. 1789, no A.)

13-19. Introduction of postage stamps in supersession of the system of money payments as postage. These papers show what attempts were made at the time to print the stamps in India. (Pub. 18 Mar. 1853, no 1; 1 Jul. 1853, nos 1-3; 12 May 1854, nos 44-45; 19 May 1854, no 64.)

20-21. Incorporation of the University of Calcutta with adaptations for the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. (Pub. 12 Dec. 1856, nos 54-5.)

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

22-26. Infanticide and murder among the Brinjarahs. Their manners and customs, etc. (Pub. A. 11 Jan. 1868, nos 28-9; and 28 Mar., nos 116-18.)

27. Human sacrifice in certain districts of the Central Provinces. (Pub. A. 30 May 1868, no 141.)

28. Female infanticide in the eastern part of the Sehory pargana in the Jubbulpore district. (Pub. B, 26 Sep. 1868, no 95.)

29-35. Act for the prevention of the murder of female infants. Suppression of female infanticide among the Rajputs. (Pub. A. 7 May 1870, nos 1-4 and 20 Aug., nos 96-8.)

36-38. Plan for establishing a route for mail from India to England *viâ* Red Sea. (Pol 11 Sep. 1812, nos 7-9.)

39-40. Letters from R. Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur, and Sreedhar Pundit (translations of letters), reporting the death of Raghuji Bhonsla II of Nagpur. (Pol 5 Apr. 1816, no 33 and 15 Apr., no 54.)

41. Letter of condolence from the Governor General to Pursoji Bhonsla on the death of his father Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsla II. Also contains congratulatory message on his accession to the *masnad.* (Pol 4 May 1816, no 83.)

42-45. List of presents sent by the Governor General to Maharaja Pursoji Bhonsla on his accession to the *masnad* and to Appa Sahib on his appointment as Regent to the Maharaja. (Pol 25 May 1816, nos 49-52.)

46. Accounts furnished by R. Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur, respecting the extent, revenue and army of the State of Nagpur. (Pol 17 Aug. 1816, no 23.)

47-48. Proposal made by Appa Sahib to raise a battalion of sepoys after the European manner under British officers and approved by the Governor General. (Pol 9 Nov. 1816, nos 31-2.)

49-51. Letter from R. Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur, reporting the death of Maharaja Pursoji Bhonsla and the proposed accession of Appa Sahib to the *masnad.* (Pol. 22 Feb 1817, no 100 and 22 Mar., nos 35-6.)

52. Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Pindaris and the Marathas, 1811-21. (For. Mis Records, no 124.)

53-58. Sir Richard Jenkins' report regarding the details of the general rules that have been established and partially introduced into the different departments of the Raja's (Raghuji III) Government. (Pol 12 Jan. 1827, nos 2-7.)

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

59. Major-General Sir John Malcolm's minute on the Revenue and Judicial administration of the Southern Maratha country and the genealogy of the Maratha chiefs, 1829. (For. Mis Records, no 204.)

60-64. Revision of the engagement of 1826 between the East India Company and the Maharaja of Nagpur. Payment of an annual subsidy of 8 lakhs of rupees agreed to by Raja Raghuji Bhonsla III. (Pol 15 Jan. 1830, nos 31-34 and 19 Mar., no 34.)

65-76. Abolition of the *sati* rite in the dominion of the Raja of Nagpur. (Pol 24 Sep. 1832, no 43; 14 Jan. 1833, no 45; 3 Jul. 1837, no 39; 14 Aug. 1837, nos 52-3; 25 Sep. 1837, nos 104-6; 13 Nov. 1839, nos 6-8; and Pol Des. from Court, no 3, dated 30 Jan. 1839, para. 52.)

77-80. Suppression of human sacrifice in some hill tracts of Orissa, namely, Kalahandi, Bastar and their dependencies, etc. (For. 3 Jan. 1851, nos 114-15 and 23 Mar. 1855, nos 114-15.)

81-82. Donation of Rs. 10,000 by the Raja of Nagpur towards the National Wellington Testimonial. (For. 1 Apr. 1853, nos 105-106.)

83-85. Trade of the Native States in India with the United Kingdom of Great Britain placed on the same footing with certain exceptions as that of the British possessions in the East Indies. (For. 25 Nov. 1853, nos 39-41.)

86-89. Report of the death of Her Highness Baka Bai, widow of Raghuji Bhonsla II. (For. 30 Dec. 1859, nos 603-6.)

90-91. Constitution of the Province of Nagpur and the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories into a separate Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces. (For. Dept Resolution no 9, dated 2 Nov. 1861. Pol A. Nov. 1861, no 48.)

92. A genealogical table of the Bhonsla family from which both the Satara and Kolhapur Rajas derived their origin. (Pol A. May 1871, no 568.)

93. Translation of an address, dated 13 December 1788, from the principal members of the Greek Church in Bengal to the Court of Directors, eulogising the administration of Warren Hastings. (Pub. 9 Jan. 1789, no 21.)

94. A statement of the fifty lakhs of rupees to be paid by Shujah-ud-Daulah. A statement of King's debt to the Company. It is in the handwriting of Lord Clive. (Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, no 13.)

95-96. Lord Clive's proposals for appropriating the legacy of five lakhs of rupees conferred upon him by Nawab Mir Jafar, and the present of three lakhs of rupees made to His Lordship by Nawab Najm-ud-

Daulah, to the benefit of the Company's invalid servants and widows of those who lost their lives in the Company's service. Among the enclosures are translations of three certificates concerning the legacy of five lakhs (attested 12 Jan. 1767) given by Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah, his mother, *i.e.*, wife of Nawab Mir Jafar and Maharaja Nanda Kumar. (Pub. 14 Apr. 1766, no 2, and 20 Jan. 1767, no 6.)

97. Mr H. T. Prinsep's narrative of Alexander's expedition to India, *circa* 1842. (For. Mis Records, no 346.)

98. Proclamation issued by Nana Sahib to incite the Indian troops during the Mutiny of 1857, together with its translation, received from Mr Wynyard, the then Judge at Gorakhpore. (Pub. 7 Aug. 1857, no 137.)

99-100. Restoration of the Danish Settlements on the Coromandel Coast. (For. 6 Jul. 1816, nos 1-2.)

101-02. General Order by the Rt. Hon. the Governor General in Council expressing his Lordship's admiration and applause for the splendid achievements of the army under the command of H. E. Sir Samuel Auchmuty, the Commander-in-Chief of the expedition, against the French power in Java, congratulating the Native troops of the Bengal Army who had distinguished themselves by their valour in the most trying scenes of the war; announcing the commemoration of the victory by the distribution of medals to troops and by erecting at the Governor General's own expense a memorial to those who fell gloriously in the war. (Pol 15 Feb. 1812, nos 2-3.)

103. Specimen of handwriting in English of Abdul Ghyas Khan, son of Nawab Jabbar Khan of Afghanistan, while being educated at Ludhiana in 1834. (Pol 21 Nov. 1834, no 145.)

104-18. Letter from the Minister to the King of Rangam (Rangoon) intimating that the King has granted Lord Clive some ground in his city to make a Factory and Bankshall to repair and rebuild ships. (Pub. 1 Feb. 1768, nos 2 (*a*)—16.)

119. Minute of the Governor General, reporting the death of Sir William Jones, deploring his loss, and suggesting that all materials left by him for the Digest of the Hindu and Muhammadan Laws may be asked for from his executor. (Pub. 2 May 1794, no 1.)

120. Copy of the minute by the Hon'ble T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay on native education, dated 2 Feb. 1835. (Pub. 7 Mar. 1835, no 15.)

121. Letter from the President and Council of Fort St George enclosing a copy of the verdict of the inquest held on the death of Lord Pigot and a bill of indictment against the late administration and others

for wilful murder, and reporting that their sessions have had to be adjourned pending the determination of certain points of law, on which they desire a reference to the Judges of the Supreme Court. (Pub. 3 Nov. 1777, no 1.)

122. Copy of the verdict of an inquest held at Fort St George from the 11 May 1777 to the 7 August 1777, on the body of Lord Pigot. (Pub. 3 Nov. 1777, no 2.)

123. Bill of indictment against Mr George Stratton and others for the murder of George Lord Pigot. (Pub. 3 Nov. 1777 no 3.)

124-27. Application from Begam Samru for a title to her heir Mr Dyce Samru, with a forwarding letter from the latter in his own handwriting. (Bears the seal and the initials of the Begam.) (Pol 24 Feb. 1835, nos 77-80.)

128. Public Despatch from the Court of Directors, no 1 of 3 January 1855, referring for the consideration of the Government of India a plan by Mr Julius Reuter for the establishment of a direct and uninterrupted communication between the electric telegraph in India and those in Europe.

129. From Chhattar Singh, Rana of Gohad. Informs the Governor General of the capture of the fortress of Gwalior by Captain Popham on 2 *Shaban* (3 August 1780). Bears the Rana's seal. (Pers. 5 Sep. 1780, no 33.)

130. A representation from the inhabitants of Benares saying that they have nothing to complain against Captain Hawkin and that they desire that the Captain may continue to reside in their midst. Bears the seals and signatures of the prominent citizens of the town. (Pers. 12 May 1785, no 17.)

131. From Maharaja Bijai Singh of Jodhpur. Complimentary. (Pers. 29 Sep. 1785, no 70.)

132. From Madho Rao Sindhia. Has received the Governor General's letter saying that he has returned to Calcutta after making a tour of all the Company's possessions and reviewing the troops at different stations, and intimating that Major Palmer who had been appointed Resident at the writer's court will shortly proceed there. Bears the writer's seal. (Pers. 8 Feb. 1788, no 101.)

133. From His Majesty Shah Alam. Has learnt from the Governor General's letter that he is leaving for Madras with a view to punishing Tipu for his having invaded Travancore, the territory of an ally of the English. Bears the seal of His Majesty. (Pers. 8 Mar. 1790, no 50.)

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

134. From Madho Rao Sindhia, acknowledging the Governor General's letter in which he writes that he has decided not to go to Madras and that Major Medows who has been appointed Governor of that place will conduct the war against Tipu. Bears the writer's seal. (Pers. 10 Mar. 1790, no 57.)

135. From Madho Rao Sindhia. Requests that the Nawab Vazir may be asked to restore the salary and the *jagir* of Mir Mahomed Amjad who has been rendering good services to rich Hindu pilgrims from the Deccan as visit the holy shrines of the eastern provinces. It is necessary that the Mir should be present at Allahabad during the month of Magh next, when a large number of pilgrims will go there for worship and holy bath. (Pers. 14 Aug. 1790, no 204.)

136. From Tipu Sultan. Asks the Governor General to depute an ambassador to his court or allow him to send one to Madras in order to remove the estrangement that has sprung up between them. Encloses a list of presents accompanying the letter. Bears the seal of the Sultan. (Pers. 18 Feb. 1791, no 35.)

137. From Tipu Sultan. In reply to the Governor General's offer to send to the Sultan's camp the corpse of Bahadur Khan who fell fighting gallantly at Bangalore, says that the body may be handed to the local Mussalmans for burial. Bears the Sultan's seal. (Pers. 23 Mar. 1791, no 78.)

138. From Maharaja Siwai Partab Singh of Jaipur to Col Murray, informing him that Captain Murray has gone to the *Mela* of Bhakkarji and to Chandgari to buy horses. Written in characteristic *Shikastah* style. Bears the seal of the Maharaja. (Pers. 25 Nov. 1795, no 359.)

139. From Daulat Rao Sindhia. Says that Rao Baji Rao, the elder son of Raghunath Rao has been installed Peshwa in succession to Madhu Rao who is dead. Nana Farnavis would not at first agree to the measure out of selfish motives but had to acquiesce when he found that none of the chiefs would support him. (Pers. 9 Sep. 1796, no 328.)

140. From Daulat Rao Sindhia. Says that by order of the Peshwa he seized and imprisoned Nana Farnavis on 12 *Rajab*, 31 December 1797. (Pers. 5 Feb. 1798, no 88.)

141. From Raja Bhim Singh of Jodhpur. Promises not to give protection in his country to Wazir Ali Khan and his associates who had murdered Mr Cherry. Bears the Raja's seal. (Pers. 1 July 1799, no 174.)

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

142. From Maharaja Siwai Partab Singh of Jaipur. Informs the Governor General that Wazir Ali has arrived in his country and is now in his custody. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (Pers. 17 Sep. 1799, no 260.)

143. From the Raja of Nepal. Congratulates the Governor General on the success of the English Fleet at Egypt. Has noted with pleasure that the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia have joined the English as active allies. Bears the Raja's seal. (Pers. 28 Sep. 1799, no 286.)

144-49. Suppression of slave trade in the dominions of Maharaja Sindhia. (Pol 21 Jan. 1831, no 65; Pol 24 Sep. 1832, nos 26-9; Pol 13 Jun. 1833, no 32.)

150-52. Treaty dated 13 January 1844 between the Hon. East India Company and Maharaja Ali Jah Jayaji Rao Sindhia. (For. 23 Mar. 1844, nos 432-33A.)

153-63. Suppression of *Sati* rite in the State of Gwalior. (Pol 7 Jan. 1835, nos 25-7; Pol 19 Feb. 1835, nos 64-5; Pol 22 Jun. 1835, no 22; Pol 19 Mar. 1852, nos 143-4; Pol 1 Oct. 1852, nos 55-7.)

164-72. Occurrence of a case of *Sati* in the State of Baroda. (Pol 13 Jan. 1854, nos 10-13; Pol 7 Jul. 1854, nos 28-32.)

173-75. Occurrence of a case of *Sati* in Ulwar (Rajputana). (Pol 8 Jul. 1859, nos 300-2.)

176-78. Formation of a Body Guard for Maharaja Sindhia. (Pol 21 Jul. 1849, nos 45-7.)

179. Spread of education in Central India in 1857. (Pol 29 Jan. 1858, no 85.)

180. Capture of Tantia Topi's family by Sindhia Subah of Bhind. (Sec. 24 Sep. 1858, no 123.)

181-87. *Kharita* from His Highness Maharaja Jayaji Rao Sindhia to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India dated 22 November 1865 on the adoption of Ganpat Rao Sindhia, and the Governor General's reply to it. (Pol A. Dec. 1865, nos 112-7 and Pers. Issue 12 Dec. 1865.)

188-92. *Kharitas* from His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India to Maharajas Sindhia and Holkar and the Sikandar Begam of Bhopal, dated 26 February 1864, expressing the Governor General's gratification at the interest which they took in the extension of education among their subjects. (For. Gen. A. Mar. 1864, nos 14-7 and Pers. Issue 26 Feb. 1864.)

193-97. Suppression of the crime of emasculation of children in Sindhia's territory. (For. Gen. A. Jun. 1869, nos 66-70.)

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

198-206. Control of the Moghias in Central India and Rajputana. (Pol A. Jan. 1877, nos 190-4 and Dec. 1877, nos. 178-81.)

207. Copy of a letter from Mr. C. W. Malet, Resident at Poona, enclosing with his remarks copies of certain papers, giving a sketch of the foreign and internal commerce of the Marathas, and discussing at length, the prospects of increasing the commercial intercourse between the Maratha country and the Company's territories. (Pub. 22 Apr. 1789, no 25.)

208. Letter from Mr William Hodges to the Governor General, tendering his thanks for the patronage received by him as a painter, and enclosing for transmission to the Company five pictures of the Forts of Agra and Gwalior, the gate of the tomb of Akbar and the palace of the Nawab Vazir at Lucknow. (Pub. 13 Nov. 1783, no 50.)

209. Letter from Lieut.-Col. Henry Watson, Chief Engineer, reporting that the fortress of Gwalior is perfectly secure against any open attack, approving of the roads mentioned in Major Popham's letter, but objecting to a second gate-way, and suggesting a parade-ground to the south and *bungalows* for the troops. (Pub. 22 Mar. 1781, no 3.)

210. Letter from Major William Popham, enclosing a plan of the fortress of Gwalior, and submitting proposals for completing its defences. (Pub. 10 Oct. 1780, no 3.)

211. Letter from Lieut.-General Sir Eyre Coote, reporting his arrival at Ghyretty, and enclosing a letter regarding the capture of the Fort of Gwalior. (Pub. 28 Aug. 1780, no 1.)

212 Draft of a reply to the above letter of Sir Eyre Coote. (Pub. 28 Aug. 1780, no 2.)

213. Governor General's proposal, for reporting the capture of Gwalior to the Court of Directors. (Pub. 28 Aug. 1780, no 4.)

214. Draft of a letter to Sir Edward Hughes, Rear-Admiral of the Red (*sic.*) and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's ships in India at Fort St. George, announcing the capture of Gwalior. (Pub. 28 Aug. 1780, no 5.)

215-22. *Farmans* relating to the English trade in India particularly in Bengal and Orissa, 1633—1712. These are grants or orders made by Muhammadan rulers and governors and comprise rotographs of eight documents obtained from the India Office, with English translations.

223. Communication in Latin from the Emperor Joseph II of Austria, dated Vienna, 8 July 1792, to Haidar Ali, regarding the appoint-

ment of Mr W. Bolts as his Consul and Lieut. Imues as Inspector. Bears the signature of the Emperor.

224. Treaty with King Christen VIII of Denmark for transferring the Danish Settlements in India to the English, dated 22 February 1845.

225. Original letter from Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the King of Burma on his accession to the throne of Burma. Bears the original signature of Her Majesty.

226. A manuscript showing the various styles of Persian calligraphy. Illustrated folios.

227. A *qasida* (ode) in praise of the Governor General Lord Canning, written in Persian by Shaikh Ahmad Ali, Sharishtadar, Rawalpindi.

228. A *masnavi* (poem) in praise of Queen Victoria, written in Persian by Shaikh Ahmad Ali, Sharishtadar, Rawalpindi. 1858.

229. Ticket for admission to the trial of Warren Hastings.

230. *Annals of the College of Fort William, by R. Roebuck, Calcutta, 1819.*

A fine specimen of inlaying work. This book was hopelessly damaged by larvae and had almost become a solid mass of paper, which was specially treated, before every page of it could be inlaid, gathered and bound up in a very skilful and scientific way.

231-32. Evil effect of using tracing paper in mending documents.

(*a*) H. D. Pub. Cons. 20 Jan. 1763, no 3.

(*b*) H. D. Pub. Cons. 16 May 1763, no 5.

233-34. How the tracing papers were subsequently peeled off and replaced by *Mouseline de soie* (Chiffon).

(*a*) H. D. Pub. Cons. 29 Feb. 1780, no 7.

(*b*) H. D. Pub. Cons. 20 Apr. 1780, no 17.

235-36. Other methods of repairing documents.

(*a*) H. D. Pub. Cons. 10 Apr. 1780, no 24.

(*b*) H. D. Pub. Cons. 28 Jan. 1785, no 1.

237-39. Repaired manuscript volumes illustrating how their isolated, worm-eaten and damaged sheets can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have a durable and flexible binding.

(*a*) Separate Revenue Progs. Vol. Jan.-Jun. 1850.

(*b*) Separate Revenue Progs. Vol. Sep.-Oct. 1805.

(*c*) Index to Register of Deeds, Vol. II, 1792-1811.

From the Imperial Record Department—*concld.*

Pictures.

240. Views of old Calcutta (9 prints).

241. Peace in India or The Conquest of Seringapatam.

From the Government of Bengal.

242. *Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council, Original Consultation, no 6 of 26 Nov. 1773.*

Letter (in French) dated 1773, from the Chief and Council of the French Settlement at Chandernagore, complaining against the conduct of Mr Barwell whose sepoys apprehended a *Jamadar* attached to the French Factory.

243. *Calcutta Committee of Revenue, Original Consultation, no 1 of 20 Oct. 1775.*

Letter dated 16 October 1775 from the Revenue Dept. to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, enquiring if the French have established any factories or residencies within the jurisdiction of the Committee.

244. *Revenue Dept, Original Consultation, no 12 of 21 May 1776.*

Draft of a *sanad* granting the *Zamindari* of Burdwan to Maharajadhiraj Tej Chand Bahadur.

245. *Revenue Dept, Original Consultation, no 26 of 27 Oct. 1780.*

Translation of a letter, received on 7 Oct. 1780, from Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, conferring the title of Maharajadhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra, son of Maha Rajendra Krishna Chandra, of Nadia.

246. *Revenue Dept, Original Consultation, no 28 of 27 Oct. 1780.*

Draft of a letter, dated 27 Oct. 1780, to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, sanctioning the conferment of the title of Maharajadhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra.

247. *Revenue Dept, Original Consultation, no 2 of 20 Feb. 1781.*

Draft of a letter to the Committee of Revenue appointing Ganga Govinda Singh, *Diwan* to the Committee.

248. *Territorial Dept, Original Consultation, no 62 of 19 Jan. 1826.*

Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in the Political Dept, dated 13 Jan. 1826 containing the proposals of Begam Samru of Sardara relating to her *Jaidad* and *Jagirs.*

From the Government of Bengal—*contd.*

249-50. *Judicial Dept, Criminal Branch, Original Consultations, nos 18-19 of 29 Dec. 1826.*

Holograph minutes, dated 25 Jan. and 3 May 1826 by Lord Amherst on slavery in India.

251. *Judicial Dept, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation, no 14 of 6 Mar. 1828.*

Minute dated 13 Jan. 1827 by W. B. Bayley, suggesting measures for the abolition of the practice of *Sati.*

252. *Judicial Dept, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation, no 16 of 6 Mar. 1828.*

Draft of a Regulation by J. H. Harington, for declaring the inhuman practice of burning or burying alive of the widows of deceased Hindus to be illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts.

253. *Judicial Dept, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation, no 17 of 6 Mar. 1828.*

Holograph Minute of the Earl of Combermere, Commander-in-Chief, on the abolition of the practice of *Sati.*

254. *Judicial Dept, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation, no 19 of 6 Mar. 1828.*

Holograph Minute of Lord Amherst, Governor General, dated 18 Mar. 1827, on the abolition of the practice of *Sati.*

255. *Judicial Dept, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation, no 22 of 6 Mar. 1828.*

Statement of names and other particulars of the Hindu widows who burnt themselves or were buried alive as *Sati* in the year 1826.

256. *Judicial Dept, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation, no 26 of 6 Mar. 1828.*

Autograph minute of Sir C. T. Metcalfe, dated 29 Dec. 1827, on the practice of *Sati.*

257. *Judicial Dept, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation, no 27 of 6 Mar. 1828.*

Holograph minute, dated 4 Jan. 1828, of Lord Amherst, Governor General, declining to abolish the rite of *Sati* at that period.

From the Government of Bengal—*concld.*

258. *Judicial Dept, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation, no 10 of 4 Dec. 1829.*

Autograph minute of Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, dated 8 Nov. 1829, recommending the abolition of the practice of *Sati.*

259. *Territorial Dept, Original Consultation, no 1 of 5 Jan. 1830.*

Autograph minute of Lord William Bentinck, dated 8 December 1829, on the subject of allowing Europeans to hold lands on lease in India.

260. *Territorial Dept, Original Consultation, no 18 of 14 Oct. 1830.*

Autograph minute of Lord William Bentinck, dated 10 Oct. 1829, on the formation of a Legislative Council for the Presidency of Fort William.

261. *Revenue Dept, Original Consultation, no 11 of 29 Aug. 1844.*

Letter from R. Macdonald Stephenson, dated 15 July 1844, submitting proposals for opening a railway line in Bengal.

262. *Revenue Dept, Original Consultation, no 2 of 13 Aug. 1845.*

Correspondence relating to the opening up of Railways in India.

From the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

263. Letter, dated 16 January 1845, from Maharaja Nawal Kishore Singh, to the Governor General returning thanks on receipt of *Khilat.*

264. Commission dated 2 July 1800 to examine witnesses on the part of Warren Hastings.

265. Letter, dated 21 July 1863, from Bharpur Singh, Raja of Nabha, to Lord Elgin, presenting a *dala* of fruits, etc.

266. Letter, dated 24 *Zil-Hajj* 1259 (1844), from Muhammad Amjad Ali Shah, King of Oudh, to Lord Ellenborough, intimating that the moneys pertaining to the estate of Begum Khutd Manzi will be repaid into the royal treasury.

267. Panorama of the City of Lahore. Painted water-colour 1840 (?). (Presented by Miss Perry of Barrackpore, 14 November 1904.)

268. Lucknow on the river Goomty. By William Daniell, March 1835.

269. 18 Pictures relating to Old Army System in Company's days.

270. Moore (J.): Moore's Views at and near Rangoon, 18 plates, London, 1825-26.

271. Symes (M.): An account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava sent by the Governor General of India, in the year 1795. London, 1800.

From the Imperial Library, Calcutta—*contd.*

272. Rough Pencillings of a rough trip to Rangoon in 1846. Calcutta, 1853.

273. Plan of the Fortress and City of Gwalior and Cantonment of Morar, etc. 1871.

274. Coopland (R. M.): A Lady's Escape from Gwalior, 1859.

275. Surendranath Raya: History of the Native States of India. Vol. I. Gwalior, 1888.

276. Barwai (M. W.): Introduction to the History of the Gwalior Dominions, etc 1902.

277. Keith (J. B.): Preservation of National Monuments, Fortress Gwalior. 1883.

278. Authentic Abstracts of Minutes in the Supreme Council of Bengal. 1780.

279. Johnson (W.): Oriental Races and Tribes, Residents and Visitors of Bombay, Vol. II—Maharashtra or Maratha Country.

From the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Archæological Section.

280. *Parwana* issued in the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar granting 50 bighas of land in *pargana* Panipat to Musammat Hayat and others for maintenance. Dated 30 *Rajab*, 4 *Julus* (1716 A. D.).

281. *Farman* of Emperor Muhammad Shah granting 50 bighas of land in *pargana* Kandarkhil in the vicinity of Shahjahanabad to Fazila Begam and others for maintenance. Dated 21 *Jumada* II, 1140 A.H. (4 February 1728).

(Bears the seal of Qamarud-Din Khan, Prime Minister.)

282. *Sanad* issued in the reign of Emperor Ahmad Shah confirming Muhammad Fazlullah in his office of the Qazi of Panipat. Dated 5 *Shawwal* 1 *Julus* (29 September 1748).

(Bears the seal of Abdullah, Sadrus-Sudur.)

283. *Farman* of Emperor Abkar issued by Bairam Khan granting 200 bighas of land to Shaikh Gadabanda for maintenance. This is one of the earliest *farmans* of Akbar, being dated *Muharrum* 966 A.H. (October 1558 A.D.) which was the third year of his reign.

(Bears Bairam Khan's seal.)

284. *Farman* of Emperor Akbar granting 1,085 bighas of land near Delhi to Nizamuddin and others for maintenance. Dated 16 *Muharrum*, 983 A.H. (28 April 1575).

(Bears the Emperor's seal.)

From the Indian Museum, Calcutta—*contd.*

Archæological Section—contd.

285. *Parwana* issued in the reign of Emperor Jahandar Shah granting 20 bighas of land to Nur Bibi and others. Dated 20 *Jumada* II, 1 *Julus* (1713 A.D.).

(Bears the seal of Emperor's Minister, Asafud Daulah.)

286. *Nishan* of Prince Mirza Akbar, son of Shah Alam II, granting Syedpur and other villages in Bengal for the upkeep of the Mausoleum of Anwar Shahid and Abul Qasim Shahid. Dated 7 *Muharrum*, 7 *Julus* (16 June 1766).

(Bears the seal of the Prince.)

287. *Farman* of Emperor Jahangir granting 30 bighas of land in *pargana* Panipat to Adar Banu for maintenance. Dated 1 *Shahriwar* 1025 A. H. (1616 A.D.).

(Bears the *tughra* and seal of the Emperor.)

288. *Farman* of Emperor Aurangzeb granting 100 bighas of land in Lucknow to Musammat Ayesha in charity. Dated 2 *Rabi* II, 14 *Julus* (1673 A. D.).

(Bears the *tughra* and seal of the Emperor.)

289. *Farman* of Emperor Shah Jahan addressed to Rashid Khan, Subadar of Khandesh. Is glad to learn that he has subdued a considerable population of Bhils and Kols to ways of peaceful life and that they have engaged to pay the revenues. Has also noted that the Khan has suppressed highway robbery so that the road from Burhanpur to Karara is now safe for all communication. Says that cases of theft are still reported from townships and the addressee as the head of the province is also responsible for this. (Dated 25 *Ramazan* 1047 A.H. (7 March 1639 A.D.). Bears the *tughra* and seal of the Emperor as also his autograph.

290. Arabic manuscript containing an exposition of the Muhammadan Law of divorce compiled by Ibrahim, son of Ismail. Dated 21 *Rabi* I, 849 A.H. (27 June 1445). Bears the seal of Sadrul Islam Sadr-i-Jahan Sultan Bahlol-al-Adil.

291. Manuscript Quran. Transcribed by Ibrahim at Sialkot in the month of *Ramazan* 1068 A.H. (June 1658 A.D.).

292. Manuscript Bostan of Sa'di. Transcribed by Shah Mahmud of Nishapur in *Rabi* II, 954 A.H. (June 1547 A.D.).

293. An astrolabe from Benares made in 1048 A.H. (1638-9 A.D.) by Muhammad Muqim, son of Isa, son of Ilahdad Usturlabi Humayuni Lahori.

From the Indian Museum, Calcutta—*concld.*

Arts Section.

294. Timur questioning an ambassador from India suspected of being a spy. (Indo-Persian.)

295. Portrait of Faizi, Nazir of Akbar. (Indo-Persian.)

296. Army marching out of a fort. Two boats in the background. (Early Mughal.)

297. Alimardan Khan in a field of battle. (Indo-Persian.)

298. Jahangir and his wife hunting—attended by ladies of the court.

299. Mullah-do-Piaza, Akbar's Court-jester, riding on a lean bay horse. (Indo-Persian.)

300. Kabir and one of his devotees—back illuminated with Persian verse. (Indo-Persian.)

301. Emperor Jahangir (1606 A.D.) with a fairy. *Sihai Kalm*, Delhi.

302. Akbar and Jahangir hawking. (Indo-Persian.)

303. Jahangir Badshah. (Indo-Persian.)

304. Emperor Jahangir & Nurjahan—outline picture on parchment. (Indo-Persian.)

305. Court of Akbar Badshah with Jahangir on his left and other courtiers. (Indo-Persian.)

306. Prince Muhammad Murad, son of Shah Jahan, on the elephant Iqbal—sketched by Gholam. (Indo-Persian.)

307. Prince Dara (in outline only). (Indo-Persian.)

308. Jahangir hunting tiger on elephant. (Indo-Persian.)

309. Emperor Jahangir on a shooting expedition, 17th century.

310. Court of Akbar who is seated on a throne attended by courtiers. Horses and an elephant in the courtyard. (Indo-Persian.)

311. Ytikad Khan, brother of Asuf Khan. (Indo-Persian.)

312. Prince Jahangir. (Indo-Persian.)

313. Zohra Bai in orange dress and green shawl standing in a field—sky back-ground. (Indo-Persian.)

314. Prince Dara with a portrait of his wife in hand.

315. Rani Kamla Pati holding a cup in right hand and a flower plant in the left.

316. Prithiraj—painted in the year 703 A.H.

317. Prince Khurram's wedding procession.

From the Calcutta Madrasah.

Illuminated Manuscripts.

318. Khamsa-i-Nizami.
319. Gulistan (from the Library of the East India Company).
320. Diwan-i-Jami.
321. Hadiqa-i-Sanai.
322. Nizami's Khusrau wa Shirin.
323. Diwan-i-Asir.
324. Masnavi Maulana Rum.
325. Tawarikh-i-Kashmir.
326. Qissat-al-Jawahir (illustrated).
327. Munajat-i-Gharib of Shah Abdul Haq, Muhaddish, Dehlavi.
328. Ajaib-al-Bilad. By Pundit Tota Ram Brahmu, Kashmiri.
329. Shri Bhagwat (illustrated).
330. *Photo.*—Haji Muhammad Mohsin, the great benefactor of the Mussalmans of Bengal, after a portrait in the India Office.

From the Muslim Institute, Calcutta.

331. A painting of Qutb-ul-Mulk Nawab Syed Abdullah Khan, the "King Maker".
332. A painting of Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh.
333. Manuscript copy of Ramayan.
334. Manuscript copy of Mahabharat.

From Prince Ghulam Husain Shah (of the Mysore Family), Calcutta.

335. Portrait of the late Tipu Sultan.
336. Paintings of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi.

From Prince Ahmad Halimuz-Zaman (of the Mysore Family), Calcutta.

337. Portrait of Tipu Sultan (painting).
338. Timur's sword with the following epigram inscribed in Persian:—
"In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful. The hand of God is above their hands. The irresistible sword, the enemy-killer, the victorious, the sword of the King of Kings, the Monarch of Monarchs, the Sultan Sahib Qiran His Majesty Amir Timur. May God perpetuate his Kingdom and Empire."

From Ajit Ghosh Collection, Calcutta.

Sanads, Farmans, etc.

339. *Sanad* of appointment issued to Shaikh Rahmatullah for the office of the *Muhtasib* at Haveli in Baroda. Dated 11 *Rajab*, 28 *Julus* (20 July 1746 A.D.). Bears the seal of Muhammad Munawwarud Din Khan, servant of Emperor Muhammad Shah.

340. *Parwana* granting 41,700 *dams* out of *pargana* Amroha in Shahjahanabad to Saiyid Mazhar Ali. Dated 24 *Zulhijjah*, 3 *Julus* (December 1715 A.D.). Bears the seal of Yaminud Daulah, Commander of Emperor Farrukh Siyar's forces.

341. *Parwana* granting 53,000 *dams* out of Chandpur in Shahjahanabad to Saiyid Mazhar Ali. Dated 22 *Muharram*, 3 *Julus* (November 1721 A.D.). Bears the seal of Inayat Khan, Officer of Emperor Muhammad Shah.

342. *Parwana* showing the boundaries of the *jagir* granted by Emperor Aurangzib to Chand Bibi as charitable endowment Dated 19 *Ramazan*, 1082 A.H. (1671 A.D.). Bears the seal of the local officers.

343. *Farman* of Emperor Akbar appointing Qazi Nizam to the Office of the Qanungo of Bijnor. His duties will be to collect the revenues, encourage the ryots to settle there and generally to look after the welfare of the people. Dated 29 *Rabi* II, 978 A.H. (September 1570 A.D.). Bears the Emperor's seal.

344. *Farman* of Emperor Jahangir issued to the principal officers of the State. They are not to introduce any innovations in the established practice and procedure of the administration and are to refrain from levying certain specified taxes. Dated 10 *Amardad*, 19 *Ilahi* (1605 A.D.). Bears the *tughra* and the seal of the Emperor.

345. *Sanad* (in Persian, Bengali and Hindi) of a charitable grant made to Abdul Quddus and others near Shahrgarh known as Kanauj. Bears the seal of Shah Qaim Hasan Sur. 1003 A.H. (1594 A.D.).

346. *Farman* of Emperor Aurangzib appointing Shaikh Imadud Din, the Qazi and Muhtasib of pargana Sandela in *sarkar* Lucknow. He is granted 200 bighas of land out of the *pargana* for his services and is forbidden to levy unauthorised cesses. Includes other instructions. Dated 11 *Rajab*, 23 *Julus* (July 1681 A.D.). Bears the seal of the Emperor.

347. Aurangzib's *Farman* to Mu'taminud Daulah. Desires him not to give any definite reply to Ghalib Khan who has offered to win over the Qilahdar of Sholapur to His Majesty's side, for His Majesty has already commissioned Adil Khan with the task. Wants him

From Ajit Ghosh Collection, Calcutta—*contd.*

Sanads, Farmans, etc.—contd.

to give an appointment to Bahlol's son and assure him of the royal favour. Eraj Khan is appointed governor of Berar in place of Shahbaz Khan, deceased. Leaves it to his discretion either to re-appoint Persu, Yusuf and Karan to the cavalry or to dismiss them. The services of the 900 musketeers already with him and 1,000 men that are being sent there under Mustafa Khan shall be retained till the expedition comes to a successful close. Their pay will be met from the Imperial Treasury. Dated 22 *Jamada* II, 3 *Julus* (1661 A.D.). Bear the Emperor's autograph and seal.

Paintings.

348. A miniature from a ms. of the Life of the Prophet, written in the fifteenth century.

349-50. Miniatures from a ms. of the Khamsa of Nizami, illustrated by the famous master Muhammad, dated 928 A.H. (1521 A.D.).

351. Portrait of a Sufi philosopher of the Herat school.

352. An illustration from the Akbarnamah by a court painter of Akbar, showing huntsmen bringing the head of a rhinoceros before the young Akbar at Jaunpur, with a specimen of calligraphy by the greatest of the Persian Calligraphers Mir Imad on the reverse.

353. A contemporary portrait of the Emperor Jahangir.

354. A contemporary portrait of the Emperor Shah Jahan at the time of of his accession by one of his court painters.

355. Portrait of Bernier by a painter of Shah Jahan.

356. Portrait of Bahadur Shah I.

357. Portrait of Mir Jumla.

358. A leaf from a Kufic Quran, written in the eighth century, probably in Mesopotamia.

359. A leaf from another Kufic Quran, written in the ninth century in Egypt.

From Mr Bahadur Singh Singhi, Calcutta.

Portrait Albums.

360. Album containing portraits (rare) of the Ghori Kings, prepared under the orders of the Emperor Shah Jahan for his Imperial Library.

361. Album of the portraits of the Emperors and other Scions of the House of Timur, beginning from Timur to Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi.

From Mr Bahadur Singh Singhi, Calcutta—*contd.*

Persian Manuscripts.

362. Qasida composed in praise of H. M. King George III on the occasion of his birthday by the famous poet In-Shah-Allah, son of Musah-Allah, wishing perpetuity of the happy relation between Nazim-ul-Mulk Bahadur, King of Oudh, and His Majesty.

363. Quran in Arabic, bearing seal of Emperor Alamgir. San 12 Julus and 1080 A.H.

Miscellaneous.

364. An unused one rupee stamp paper of the Government of King Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh, year 1847 A.D.

365. A map of the Great Mughal Empire, printed during the reign of Emperor Jahangir.

From Mr P. C. Nahar, Calcutta.

366. Narayana on Garuda with attendants (a jewelled charm from Nepal).

367. Buddhist Ganesh (rare)—Metal image of the 7th or 8th century from Magadha.

368. Tara Devi (rare)—A Buddhist sculpture of the Pal period from North Bengal.

369. Manasa Devi—A Brahmanical sculpture of the Pal period from North Bengal.

370. Tarikh-i-Nadiri—An illustrated Persian manuscript.

371-72. Two Jain paintings from Kalpasutra.

373. Durga Das, celebrated Rathore chief (Rajput school).

374. A Rajput Prince in Palki (Rajput school).

375. Sepoy Mutiny—Seige at Lucknow painted by a native artist.

From Mr P. K. Das, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta.

376-77. Two palm leaf manuscripts in gold letters of Bissuddhi Mugga, a book which can very well be termed the Encyclopædia of Buddhist Ethical doctrines. They were received by the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, C.I.E., in 1886 from Buddhist Monastery in Siam.

378. A manuscript recovered from a remote Monastery in Tibet for a long time regarded as lost.

From Mr Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S., Calcutta.

379. A Latin-Armenian Dictionary by Father Jacob Villotte, S.J., a French Jesuit Missionary in Persia and Armenia for 25 years towards the end of the 17th century. Printed at Rome in 1714.

380. A Latin translation of the "History of Armenia" by Moses Chorenensis, the father of Armenian historians, printed at London with the Armenian text in 1736. This is the first Armenian book printed in England.

381. A book of exhortations and historical miscellany printed at Madras in 1772. This is the first Armenian book printed in India.

382. A complete copy of all the numbers of the "Azdarar"—the first Armenian journal in the world—printed and published at Madras from 1794-1796, by the Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon of Shiraz, who was the vicar of the Armenian Church of Madras from 1784-1824. There is at page 254, a facsimile copy of the *Farman* of Namab Walajah of the Carnatic, granting permission to the editor and publisher of the "Azdarar" (intelligencer) to print and publish at his press books in Arabic and Persian in addition to Armenian. This is one of the three complete copies of the journal extant in the Armenian world.

383. An illustrated Armenian Bible (in the original binding printed by the Melchitharist Society of Armenian monks at "St Lazare", Venice, in 1733

384. An illustrated Armenian Bible, printed in small type at Constantinople in 1705

385. The life and works of the Armenian Catholicos (Pontiff) Abraham. a personal friend of Nadir Shah, whose sword he blessed when that great warrior assumed the sovereignty of Persia in 1729. This is the first Armenian book printed at Calcutta in 1796.

386. A Persian Manuscript book—a poem by Mirza Pazbazil, setting forth the Shia traditions about the succession to the Khalifate

387. An Arabic Manuscript book called "Qasidah Bardah" brought to India from Persia as a present in 1028 A.H.

388. Seven Persian Manuscript letters, loose sheets.

389. A facsimile of the Armenian inscription on the oldest Christian tomb-stone in Calcutta, bearing date, the 11th July 1630, according to the new Armenian era of Azarea. This valuable landmark of the early history of Calcutta was discovered in 1894, at the Armenian Church of Nazareth, Calcutta, by Mr Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S., the author of the "History of Armenians in India".

390. **A Map of Ancient Armenia, engraved at Venice in 1751.**

From Mr Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S., Calcutta—*contd.*

391. Travels of Niebuhr, in 2 volumes printed in French at Amsterdam, in 1776, with steel engravings.

392. An Armenian book printed at Madras in 1773.

393. An Armenian Bible, printed by the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, near Calcutta, in 1817.

394. One illuminated Manuscript "Quran", written in Persia, in 1216 A.H. with marginal notes in Persian. A perfect specimen of Arabic and Persian calligraphy.

395. One life-size painting of Jahangir, drinking wine, with his two favourite queens, Aram Jah Begam and Hayat-un-Nisa Begam.

396. One ivory carved figure of Humayun, the father of Akbar the Great. Old Mursidabad work.

397. One carved ivory figure of a Mughal Queen.

398. One carved ivory box for scent bottles.

399. One carved ivory "*Qalamdan*", with the busts of Akbar and other Mughal Emperors and their Queens.

400. One copper picture of Sultan Muhammad Mirza of the House of Timur.

401. Four old daggers, inlaid with gold, one with a real Jade handle.

402. Two old embroidered Murshidabad silk "*Saris*", with Darbars, etc.

403. One picture of Krishna and his wife.

404. One picture of Maharaja Kansh's Darbar.

405. One picture of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah of Oudh.

406. One ivory miniature of Shah Jahan.

407. One ivory miniature of Shah Jahan with his Vazir.

408. Twenty-six Indian pictures, loose, unframed.

409. One Manuscript copy of Khamsa-i-Nizami, with 13 illustrations.

410. One Armenian letter written in very small hand on very fine note-paper in 1857. A beautiful specimen of Armenian calligraphy, 70 lines to the page.

411. Three pictures from Omar Khayyam, real Persian paintings.

412. One cabinet of rare gold and silver old coins—Sassanian, Parthian, Greek, Armenian, Indo-Bactrian, Mughal, old Persian, Kufic, Arabo-Sassanian, etc.

From Mr F. E. Youd, Calcutta.

413. An ivory miniature of Saifud-Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1766-70.

414. An ivory miniature of Najmud-Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1765-66.

415. An ivory miniature of Mubarakud-Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1770-93.

From Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India.

416. Delhi Darbar.

From Mr Harigopal Bhattacharyya, Imperial Record Department.

Sanskrit works in Bengali character.

417. *Srimadbhagabadgita*, with the commentary of Shridhara Swami. *Manuscript.* 70 leaves. Size $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. × 5 in. Dated 1704 A.D. (Leaf no 1 appears to have been replaced at a later date: leaves nos 57-59 are wanting.)

418. *Manu Samhita* or the Code of Manu, with the commentary of Kulluka Bhatta. 265 leaves. Size $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Dated 1833 A.D.

419-37. Nineteen *Samhitas* or religious codes by Hindu sages other than Manu. Size $16\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. generally; in some cases about an inch or so smaller both ways. (*Circa* 1833 A.D.)

The particulars of the *Samhitas* are given below:—

(i) *Atri*—11 leaves.* (ii) *Vishnu*—32 leaves.* (iii) *Harita*—6 leaves.* (iv) *Yajnavalkya*—25 leaves.* (v) *Ushana*—2 leaves. (vi) *Angira*—3 leaves. (vii) *Yama*—3 leaves. (viii) *Apastamva*—6 leaves.* (ix) *Samvarta*—6 leaves. (x) *Katyayana*—12 leaves.* (xi) *Vrihashpati*—2 leaves. (xii) *Parashara*—13 leaves.* (xiii) *Vayasa*—6 leaves.* (xiv) *Shankha*—8 leaves.* (xv) *Likhita*—3 leaves.* (xvi) *Daksha*—6 leaves.* (xvii) *Gautama*—10 leaves.* (xviii) *Shatatapa*—6 leaves.* (xix) *Vashistha*—12 leaves.*

* In these cases a table of contents is included.

438. *Prabodhachandradaya Nataka*, the well known allegorical drama, with a commentary by Maheshwara Nayalankara Bhattacharyya. 54 leaves. Size $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. × $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Dated 1833 A.D.

N.B.—Nos 2-22 were printed by Bhawani Charan Bandopadhyaya at the Samachar Chandrika Press, Calcutta. (The *Samachar Chandrika* was one of the oldest Bengali newspapers.) No 2 was published under the patronage of Prannath Chaudhuri, Zemindar of Cossipore, in the district of 24-Pergannas, Bengal; and no 22 under the patronage of Radha Charan Ray, Zemindar of Narail, in the district of Jessore, Bengal. These twenty-one items represent the first editions of the works mentioned above printed in Bengali character. They are got up on thick yellow country-made paper in the old oblong *punthi* form.

From Hakim Habibur Rahman of Dacca.

439. Shigarf Nama-i-Vilayet by I'tisamuddin, son of Tajuddin, son of Shahabuddin of Nadia. The first Indian traveller of Europe as a munshi of the ambassador of Emperor Shah Alam. In this work he gives a full account of Europe of the periods of 1179-1200 A.H.

440. Mubarak-Nama. A full account and custom of the Durbar of Nawab Mubarakud-Dawlah, Nazim of Bengal. This is the only copy that has been traced up to this time.

441. Tarikh-i-Rahmat Khani. A full account of life of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the well known Rohilla chief.

442. An Album. A valuable collection of rare autographies of several well known persons like Mir Imad, Mir Ali Katib, Abdur Rahim Raushan Qalam, Nawab Nusrat Jung of Dacca and others from the 10th to the 13th century.

443. Bayaz. A valuable collection of poems of several Persian poets.

From Prof. S. K. Bhuyan, Cotton College, Gauhati, Assam.

444. One copper-plate in Assamese, indicating grant of land by the Ahom King Kamaleswar Singha, to Kaliabhomora Barphukan, the Ahom Viceroy at Gauhati, dated *Saka* 1722, or A.D. 1800, as a reward for suppressing the rebellion of Haradatta Chaudhuri of Kamrup.

445. One manuscript chronicle in Assamese, in three parts—

Part I.—Details of the Ahom conflicts with the Mughals, up to the battle of Itakhuli, near Gauhati, where the Mughal forces deputed by Sultan Azamtara under Nawab Mansul Khan were defeated by King Gadadhar Singha, the Ahom King. Folio nos 1 to 56.

Part II.—Assamese texts of original letters exchanged between the Ahom Court and the Mughal Generals. Folio nos 57 to 67.

Part III.—Assamese chronicle of the Delhi Badshahate, known as Padshah-Buranji, dealing with Timurlanga, Jahangir's conquest of Secunderabad, Jaisingha's subjugation of Eastern India, the Naoroza festival, etc. Folios 68-78.

446. One manuscript in the now obsolete Ahom language, dealing with the mythical origin of the universe, according to Shan belief. 73 folios.

447. One ivory seal of the Bara-raja of Gauhati, with the legend—

শ্ৰীশ্ৰীযুক্ত গুৱাহাটীৰ বৰৰাজবৰস্য ।

From H. E. H. the Nizam's Government.

448. Currency Note for Rs. 1,000 (no AA00460).
449. Currency Note for Rs. 100 (no PV78901).
450. Currency Note for Rs. 10 (no AW31802).
451. Currency Note for Rs. 5 (no LS061286).
452. One set of gold coins—Full Ashrafi 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ Ashrafi 1, $\frac{1}{4}$ Ashrafi 1, $\frac{1}{8}$ Ashrafi 1.
453. One old charkhi silver coins—Full rupee 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee 1, $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee 1, $\frac{1}{8}$ rupee 1.
454. One O. S. silver coins (current)—Full rupee 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee 1, $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee 1, $\frac{1}{8}$ rupee 1.
455. One H. S. silver coins (ancient)—Full rupee 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee 1, $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee 1, $\frac{1}{8}$ rupee 1.
456. One nickel anna 1, copper half anna 1, copper $\frac{1}{6}$ anna 1, copper $\frac{1}{12}$ anna 1.
457. Old postage stamps 11.
458. Current postage stamps 8.

From the Baroda Darbar.

459. Copy of a Persian Chaknama of 1680 A.D.
460. *Sanad* of Yeshwant Dadaji, dated 20 October 1761.
461. Paper of accounts of 84 Parganas, dated 20 January 1772.
462. Letter of Madho Rao II to Fataisingh Gaekwar, dated 7 June 1778.
463. *Sanad* to Kamavisdar Virmgaon, 1781.
464. Letter of Kachokaner about the income of 84 Parganas, 1790.
465. Letter of Tukoji Holkar to Manaji Rao Gaekwar, dated 16 June 1791.
466. Letter from Mahadji Scindia to Manaji Rao Gaekwar, 1793.
467. Letter from Parashram Pratinidhi to Govindrao Gaekwar, 1793.
468. Letter from Nilkanth Babrao Amatya to Govindrao Gaekwar, 1795.
469. Letter from Daulat Rao Scindia to Govindrao Gaekwar, dated 17 October 1795.
470. Letter from Sawai Madhorao to Govindrao Gaekwar, dated 11 April 1796.
471. Letter about the grant of Jarepure to Anand Rao Mahadeo for 5 years, 1798.
472. Letter from Amrit Rao Peshwa to Anand Rao Gaekwar, 1816.

From the Baroda Durbar—*contd.*

473. Letter from Bombay Governor to Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, 1818.
474. Letter of Ramchandra Pawar to Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, 1823.
475. Letter of Rana of Jodhpur to Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, 1823.
476. Administration Report of Amreli Pargana, 1836.
477. Letter from Yeshwant Rao Pawar to Ganapat Rao Gaekwar.
478. Ganapat Rao Gaekwar's letter to Yeshwant Rao Pawar, 1859.
479. Agreement between Peshwa and Gaekwar, 1769.
480. Chronicle of Baroda Raj, 1773.
481. Letter from Narain Fadnis to Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, 1782.
482. Letter from East India Company to Anand Rao Gaekwar, 1808.
483. Catalogue of coins in Gujarat with 133 coins, gold 2, silver 82, copper 49.
484. Copper plate Grandhovji, in 3 parts, 746 Shaka, 805 A.D.
485. Copper plate in two parts, 1103 Samvat, 1047 A.D.
486. Metakshara Manuscript, 1442 Samvat, 1386 A.D.
487. Manav Sutra, 1435 A.D.
488. Bhagwat illustrated, 1903 Samvat.
489. Dnyat Dharma Katha.
490. Bhagwat Gita with pictures, scroll.
491. Bhagwat Gita.
492. Information of Utkalesh Gachha Dynasty.
493. Brahmi Tadpatra Mahabharat.
494. Telegu Bharat.
495. Pictures of 20 Raga Raganis.
496. Git Govind.

From the Jodhpur Durbar.

497. *Farman* of Emperor Farrukhsiyar granting Subedari of Ahmedabad to Maharaja Ajit Singhji of Jodhpur.
498. Muhammad Shah's *farman* granting the title of "Maharaja" to Ajit Singhji of Jodhpur.
499. Farrukh-Siyar's *farman* granting Nagpur district to Maharaja Ajit Singhji.
500. Muhammad Shah's *farman* returning Jodhpur to Maharaja Ajit Singhji.
501. Bahadur Shah's *farman* granting the Mansab of 7,000 Jat, 7,000 Sawar to Maharaja Ajit Singhji.

From the Jodhpur Durbar—*contd.*

502. Maharana Sangram Singh II's letter to Maharaja Ajit Singhji on his unprecedented success in making the Emperor abolish the *Jizya*, and tax on pilgrims. Bikram year 1775. Rafi-ud-daulah's time.

503. Letter of the Sirohi Rao Barisal acknowledging the supremacy of Jodhpur, and promising to pay homage through his heir-apparent. Bikram Samvat, 1862.

504. Letter of Maharana Ratan Singhji of Udaipur promising to pay 15 lakhs of rupees for military help received by him.

505. Letter of Maharana Arsi thanking the Jodhpur Maharaja Bijaya Singhji for suppressing a rebellion in the Mewar State. Bikram Samvat, 1827.

From the Gwalior Durbar.

Record Department.

506. *Sanad* of Shahu Chhatrapati granting *Haq Deshmukhi* of Chamargonda to Ranoji Scindia in *Shaka* 1666.

507. Grant of headmanship of village Chamargonda to Ranoji Scindia by Qamruddin Khan Bahadur, dated 14 *Jamadul Sani San* 25 *Julus.*

508. *Parwana* by Qamruddin Khan Bahadur granting Chamargonda—a total revenue of Rs. 20,000—to Ranoji Scindia, dated 11 *Rabiul avval San* 28 *Julus.*

509. *Farman Shahi* of 1157 *Hijri* by Muhammad Shah Bahadur confirming grant of Chamargonda to Ranoji Scindia, 27 *Shavval.*

510. *Sanad* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting garden of Ghorpadi in *Shaka* 1665, *Hijri* 1156 to Ranoji Scindia.

511. *Takid patra* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa regarding grant of 86 villages of *pargana* Sheogaon to Jayaji Rao I (Jaya Appa Scindia), in *Shaka* 1674.

512. *Sanad* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting *mauza* Rajgaon, *pargana* Sheogaon, to Jayaji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1674.

513. *Sanad* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting 14 villages (12 in Mughlia Amal and 2 in Sardeshmukhi) to Jayaji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1674.

514. *Sanad* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting village Tisgaon, *pargana* Miri, to Jayaji Rao I, in *Hijri* 1165.

515. *Sanad* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting *Kasba* Sagar of Orissa *Prant* to Jayaji Rao I, in *Hijri* 1165.

Record Department—contd.

516. *Sanad* of Muhammad Shah granting 10 bighas of land to Jayaji Rao I, in *Hijri*, 1165.

517. *Parwana* from Gaziuddin Khan Bahadur to Jayaji Rao I, appointing him as *patel* of village Kabi Rajangaon, in *Hijri* 1165.

518. *Parwana* from Gaziuddin Khan in the name of *Deshmukhi*, etc., informing them of the grant of *Mauza* Badkangaon, etc., to Jayaji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1674.

519. *Parwana* from Gaziuddin Nizamul-mulk in the name of *Deshmukhi*, etc., informing them of the grant of *Kasba* Ujjain Kumbhar to Jayaji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1674.

520. *Parwana* by Gaziuddin Nizamul-mulk in the name of *Deshmukhi*, informing him of the grant of *Kasba* Chamargonda, Pargaon, etc., to Jayaji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1674.

521. *Parwana* in the name of *Deshmukhi*, etc., by Gaziuddin Nizamul-mulk, informing them of the grant of *Mauza* Arangaon and Chas to Jayaji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1674.

522. *Parwana* in the name of *Deshmukhi* by Gaziuddin Nizamul-mulk, informing him of the grant of *Mauza* Walunj and Issapur to Jayaji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1674.

523. *Sanad* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting Walunj and Sanewadi in *Shaka* 1675 to Jayaji Rao I.

524. *Sanad* of Nizam Asafjah of Hyderabad granting *pargana* Haveli Paithan and other *parganas* of a total revenue of Rs. 3,71,54,280 in *jagir* to Jankoji Rao I, in *San Julus* 6.

525. *Sanad* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting *Kangoi* of 31 mahals in Malwa to Jankoji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1677.

526. *Sanad* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting Choudhrat, *Deshmukhi* of Prant Malwa to Jankoji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1674 or *Hijri* 1168.

527. *Takid Patra* in the names of *Deshmukhi* and *Deshpande*, informing them of the grant of *Sardeshmukhi* of Daulatabad and Jalawadi in Khandesh to Jankoji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1678.

528. *Sanad* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting nine villages Pargav, etc., to Jankoji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1678.

529. *Sanad* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting *pargana* Yawal Prant, Khandesh, excepting Mokasi cess to Jankoji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1678.

530. *Takid Patra* of Balaji Bajirao granting *Mauza* Chamargonda, etc., to Jankoji Rao, son of Jayappa, in *Shaka* 1678.

From the Gwalior Durbar—*contd.*

Record Department—concld.

531. *Takid Patra* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting *pargana* Edalabad in Khandesh to Jankoji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1678.

532. *Farman* of Emperor Alamgir granting *pargana* Bawal, Subha Barhanpur, *Sarkar* Assar to Jankoji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1681, *Hijri* 1172.

533. *Farman* of Emperor Alamgir granting *Mauza* Belwandi Buzurg, etc., to Jankoji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1681, *Hijri* 1172.

534. *Farman* of Emperor Alamgir granting *Deshmukhi* of *pargana* Rashima, Chamargonda, etc., to Jankoji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1681, *Hijri* 1172.

535. *Parwana* in the name of *Deshmukhs* by Gaziuddin Khan Nizamul-mulk, informing them of the grant of *Mauza* Sonar Sakhali, etc., in *Shaka* 1674, to Jayaji Rao I.

536. *Parwana* in the name of *Deshmukhs* by Gaziuddin Nizamul-mulk. informing them of the grant of *Mauza* Pathardi, etc., in *Shaka* 1674. to Jayaji Rao I.

537. *Farman* of Emperor Alamgir granting *Kasba* Chamargonda and 5 other villages to Jankoji Rao I in *Shaka* 1681, *Hijri* 1172.

538. *Sanad* of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa granting *Mauza* Tajur Taluka Pedgaon to Sakhubai, wife of Jankoji Rao I, in *Shaka* 1691.

539. *Sanad* of Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa granting 4 Chahur land in Inam to Mahadji Scindia, in *Shaka* 1702.

540. *Farman* of Emperor Shah Alam granting one rupee per village per annum throughout the empire as *Muafi* to Shreemant Mahadji Scindia, in *Shaka* 1707.

541. *Inam patra* of Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa, granting *Mauza* Pedgaon, *Pargana* Newasa, to Mahadji Scindia, in *Shaka* 1708.

542. *Farman* of Emperor Shah Alam, granting to Afrasiab Khan, Subhedar and Kiledari of Akra Akrabad and Kila Mubarik, in *Shaka* 1706.

543. *Sanad* of Madhav Rao Narayan Peshwa, granting fort of Asheer to Mahadji Scindia, in *Shaka* 1699.

544. Copper plate of Samvat 1812, recording the grant of *Mauza* Chharsirau by Shree Sardar Singh of Jodhpur to Baloji Scindia.

545. Copper plate of Samvat 1847, recording a grant of villages to a total revenue of Rs 7,000 from Maharaja Vijayasingh of Jodhpur to Jiwabadada Bakshi.

From the Gwalior Durbar—*contd.*

Record Department—contd.

546. Copper plate of Samvat 1847, recording a grant of Kasba Bhesoda, total revenue Rs 15,000, by Maharaja Vijayasingh of Jodhpur to Abbaji Raghonath.

547. File no 992 of 1805 A.D. *Munshikhanà*, containing the original *Kharitas* from the British Government about the changes in the office of the Governor Generals of India, continued to the year 1906 A.D.

Archæological Department.

548. A carved pilaster in cave no 4 at Bagh (District Amjhera), dated 7th century A.D.

549. Impression of an inscription of Jaitravarman of Pratihar lineage at Chanderi, undated.

550. Impression of an inscription at Narwar Fort, refers to the reign of Ganpati, a Jajapella king of Narwar, dated V.S. 1335.

551. Photo of a principal door frame of cave no 4, at Bagh, dated 7th century A.D.

552. Copy of a fresco painting of a scene of sorrow in Buddhist cave no 4, at Bagh, dated 7th century A.D.

553. Copy of a fresco painting of discourse in Buddhist cave no 4, at Bagh, dated 7th century A.D.

554. Copy of a fresco painting of music in the air in Buddhist cave no. 4, at Bagh, dated 7th century A.D.

555. Copy of fresco painting of musical dance in Buddhist cave no 4, at Bagh, dated 7th century A.D.

556. Copy of fresco painting of procession of horsemen in Buddhist cave no 4, at Bagh, dated 7th century A.D.

557. Copy of fresco painting of music in Buddhist cave no 4, at Bagh, dated 7th century A.D.

558. Copies of fresco paintings of elephant procession in Buddhist cave no 4, at Bagh, dated 7th century.

559. Copy of a fresco painting of bust of a female in Buddhist cave no 4, at Bagh, dated 7th century.

560. An outline of paintings in Buddhist cave no 4, at Bagh.

561. General view of Buddhist caves at Bagh (photograph).

562. A cabinet containing coins of Muhammadan period.

563. A cabinet containing coins of pre-Muhammadan period.

From the Gwalior Durbar—*concld.*

Archæological Department—concld.

564. A photograph of the interior view of cave no 2 at Bagh—a dagoba and Boddhisatwas in cave no 2, at Bagh, 7th century A.D.

565. An impression of an inscription in Sanskrit found at Tumain, dated Samvat 116. Refers to the reign of Kumargupta.

566. Photo of a copper plate inscription recording grant of a village to the monks in the *viharas* at Bagh by Maharaja Subandhu of Mahismati

567. Impression of an inscription in Sanskrit found at Mahua, undated. Refers to the reign of Srivatsaraja.

568. Impression of a Sanskrit inscription found at Mandasor, dated Malav Samvat 524 (467-68 A.D.). Refers to the reign of King Prabhakara.

569. Impression of a Sanskrit inscription found at Narwar, dated V.S. 1339. Refers to the reign of Sri Gopal Jajapellas of Narwar.

570. Impression of a Sanskrit inscription found at Gwalior Fort, date not preserved. Refers to Ramadeva of Kanauj.

571. Impression of a Sanskrit inscription undated, found at Terahi, District Narwar. Refers to the period of Sri Harsa of Kanauj.

572. Impression of a Sanskrit inscription found at Gwalior Fort, date not preserved. Refers to the reign of Ramdeva of Kanauj.

573. Impression of a Sanskrit inscription found at Mahua, District Narwar, undated. Refers to the period of Srivatsaraja.

574. Impression of a Sanskrit inscription, undated. Refers to the reign of Udaiyaditya of Udaypur.

575. Photo of a frieze in cave no 4, at Bagh, dated 7th century.

576. A photo of images of Buddha and Boddhisatvas in cave no 2, at Bagh, dated 7th century.

577. A photo of the interior view of cave no 5 at Bagh, District Amjhera, dated 7th century.

578. Photo of a facade of cave no 4, at Bagh, dated 7th century.

579. A painting of the fortress of Gwalior by General Popham in 1780.

580. A view of the Fort of Gwalior published in 1786 by J. Wells.

581. A view of the south side of Gwalior Fort, published in 1786 by J. Wells.

582. Ancient coins.

583. Dice for making coins.

From the Home Member, Gwalior Durbar.

584. Photograph of H. H. Maharaja Scindia's palace at Jamgaon, east view. 3 copies.

585. Photograph of H. H. Maharaja Scindia's palace at Jamgaon, north and east view. 3 copies.

586. Photograph of H. H. Maharaja Scindia's palace at Jamgaon, northern view. 3 copies.

587. Photograph of H. H. Maharaja Scindia's palace at Jamgaon, eastern gate view. 3 copies.

588. Group of photographs of H. H. the Maharaja Mahadji Scindia and his palace at Jamgaon.

From Colonel K. N. Haksar, Political Member, Gwalior Durbar.

Paintings.

589. Rani Padmavati.

590. A group of Sadhus.

591. Raja Ramchandra.

592. Dancing of Siva.

593. Emperor Jahangir.

From Captain G. V. Modak, Assistant Adjutant General, Gwalior Army.

594-96. Three gun balls.

From Sardar Anand Rao Gujar, Gwalior.

597. A picture of hunting by Sardar Krishna Rao Kadam.

From Sardar Bala Sahib Raje Ingle Rai, Gwalior.

598. Copy of a treaty of 1803 between the British Government and Raja Ambaji Ingle.

599. Copy of a *sanad* from Tukoji Rao Holkar.

600. A picture of Malhar Rao Ingle.

From Sardar Ghorpade Sahib, Gwalior.

601. Bhagwat Gita written on *bhurj patra.*

602. Bhagwat Gita, 11 Adhyayas, written on paper.

From Rai Bahadur Munshi Balmukand Bhaya Saheb, Gwalior.

603. Shri Bhagwat (Persian).

604. Bhaktmal (Persian).

From Rai Bahadur Munshi Balmukand Bhaya Saheb, Gwalior—*contd.*

605. Brihat Jatak (Persian).
606. Halat (History) of India (Persian).
607. Produce of India (Persian).
608. Indian Emperors (Persian).
609. A book of 7 pamphlets (Persian).
610. An old system of account in Persian.

From the Aba Maharaj temple, Gwalior.

611. Dasbadh Pothi written in *Shaka* 1606.

From Mr Augustin Filose, Gwalior.

612. Copper inscriptions.
613. Stone inscription.

614-17. Twenty-five gold coins, fifty silver coins (one with letter no 50 Dt more gold coin found in silver coins), one ornamental silver box and one silver medal.

From Mr Bindraban Kale, Gwalior.

618. Ekadashi Mahatmya written in V. S. 1866.
619. Ashwa Pariksha and " Kavipria ".

From Mr C. M. Tambe, Gwalior.

620. A picture of Baiza Bai.

From Mr G. B. Chitnis, Gwalior.

621. A letter from Baiza Bai Scindia to Jayajirao Scindia.
622. A letter from Jayajirao to Jaisingrao Ghadge.
623. A letter from Balambhat to Jayajirao Scindia.
624. A letter from Appaji Krishna to Baiza Bai.
625. An order to the Kamavisdar, Malwa for co-operation with Major J. Filose.
626. A letter from Gafur Khan to Daulat Rao Maharaj.
627. A letter from Tarabai to Jayajirao Scindia.
628. Two letters from Jaisingrao Ghadge to Jayaji Rao.
629. A letter of Madhosingh to Maharaja Daulat Rao.
630. A letter describing a visit to Stuart Sahib.

From Mr G. B. Chitnis, Gwalior—*contd.*

631. A list of detachments stations at different places.

632. Draft of two letters written to Raja of Chanderi and Captain John Baptista.

From Mr G. S. Muley, c/o Kadam Sahib, Gwalior.

633. Copy of a *sanad* from Balaji Bajirao Peshwa, granting " haq " of Madloi and Qanungo to Ramchandra Ballal, Bhuskute Dt. *Shaka* 1675.

634. Copy of *sanad* from Peshwa Madho Rao II, granted *Mauza* Tembhurni in *Inam* to Madhav Rao and Narayan Rao Bhuskute.

635. Copy of a *sanad* from Raja Dhad Shaha of Kalibhut, granting *Mauza* Upra Kachha, *Pargana* Sotada in *Inam* to Krishna Rao and Narayan Rao Bhuskute V.S. 1816.

636. Copy of a *sanad* from Bajirao II, confirming the above grant to Krishna Rao Bhuskute, the adopted son of Madho Rao Krishna.

637. A letter of Daulat Rao Scindia to Baburao Angre, appointing Deoji Kale to the Potdari of Ujjain on Rs 300 per year.

638. A letter of Daulat Rao Scindia to Mirja Gulshan Beg, Mandsaur, appointing Deoji Kale as *Fadnis* of Khachrod in place of Nilkanthrao Moreshwar.

639. A letter of Daulat Rao Scindia to Kamasdar Navlai to give Rs 1,739 for Mukund Kashi, Darakh of Amin to Maniram Lakhmichand.

640. A letter of Daulat Rao to Kamasdar Navlai to give Rs 1,600 to Pira Mali Hujuria for the Amini Darakh of Laxman Shivaji Kardekar.

641. A letter of Daulat Rao to Kamasdar Navlai to give Rs 1,600 to Maniram Lakhmichand for Amini Darakh of Mukund Kashi, *Shaka* 1737.

642. A letter from Madhoji Bhosla of Nagpur to Shankar Joshi, complaining that Fatehchand had taken his horses, etc., and asking for a *Sarkari Parwana*.

643. A letter of Madhoji Bhosla of Nagpur to one " Tirukami Mudli " asking to obtain a *parwana* through Joshi and tell Fatehchand to come to Ambarsar with horses and men.

644. A letter from Daulat Rao Scindia to Kamasdar Navlai cancelling a " Warat " for Rs 4,120 the pay of the Chitnavis' clerk and ordering the payment to Chitnavis.

645. *Sanad* from Nana Saheb Apte giving 215 bighas of land in Taluka Gormi to Bhalchandra Bhat Kanitkar.

From Mr G. S. Muley, c/o Kadam Sahib, Gwalior—*contd.*

646. A *sanad* of Daulat Rao about Etawah.
647. A letter of Daulat Rao regarding an account of Rupees eight lakhs.
648. Letter of Daulat Rao Scindia to Kamasdar Navlai regarding charity of Rs 2,000 to Khand Bhat.
649. Copy of a letter of Daulat Rao regarding an account of Rupees five lakhs.
650. Letter of Daulat Rao Scindia regarding an account of Rs 1,600.
651. Letter of Daulat Rao Scindia regarding a grant of Rs 500.
652. Letter of Daulat Rao Scindia regarding Amini Darakh.
653. Letter of Daulat Rao Scindia regarding Rs 14,524 for the expense of artillery.
654. Letter of Daulat Rao Scindia regarding Rs 1,600 for Amini Darakh.
655. Letter of Daulat Rao Scindia regarding Amini Darakh of Mukund Kashi.
656. *Parwana* of Jayaji Rao Scindia, appointing Hari Narayan Wahewatdar of Taluka Deogarh.
657. Purchase of gram from Deshawar.
658. Purchase of wheat from Deshawar.
659. Description of the art of cutting paper, mica and flowers.
660. Description of the art of painting.
661. Cultivation of Dadka.
662. Accountancy.
663. Regarding *Poshak* to the Resident for Kharita.
664. *Dakhala* (reference) regarding clothes and other things being given away in charity at the time of the death of Daulat Rao Scindia.
665. Account of expenses incurred in Tulsi Viwaha in *Shaka* 1772.
666. Regarding *Poshak* received from Viceroy of Calcutta.
667. Regarding *Poshak* at Calcutta. V.S. 1914.
668. Account of expenses of coronation of Maharaja Jayaji Rao in 1843 A.D.
669. Copy of letter of Daulat Rao Scindia to Samsthan Makadai regarding grant of two villages.
670. Statement regarding "Intizam" of Prant Newar, V.S. 1901.
671. List of *Inam* villages in Newar Prant, V.S. 1901.

From Mr G. S. Muley, c/o Kadam Sahib, Gwalior—*concld.*

672. Copy of Daulat Rao Scindia's letter regarding grant of village to Sarji Rao Ghatge.

673. Copy of *sanad* to Bhuskute from Bajirao II.

674. Copy of a *sanad* granting Rs 900 per annum to the temple in Ujjain of Yedneswarji Dhamti in Uchod.

From Mahaprush Ganpatrao Narsingh, Chavdi Bazar, Gwalior.

675. Letter of Command about the suppression of a band of mutineers in Zila Bhind, 1859 A.D.

676-77. Two letters of command about the suppression of rebels.

678. Copies of treaties between the British Government and Gwalior Government.

679. A photo of the Samadhi of Praladh Maharaj Shrigonde.

680. A picture of Rani Laxmibai.

681. An account of the British people.

682. Copy of treaty no 73 between the East India Company and the Gwalior Government.

683. A short life of Jayaji Rao Maharaj.

684. A report from the Subah of Esagarh about the Mutiny of 1857.

685. An account of the family of Govind Rao Narayan, Subah of Esagarh.

686. A picture of the family of Govind Rao Narayan, Subah of Esagarh.

687. Manuscript of *Hora Ratna*, Parts I and II.

688. *Sarwarth Chintamany*, a book on Astronomy.

689. A picture of the official staff of Balaji Chimnaji Diwan.

690. *Sanad* of Daulat Rao Maharaja granting one-half share of an *Inam* to each of two brothers.

691. Copy of Daulat Rao's *sanad* conferring a grant of Rs 300 on Jairam Bua.

From Mr Gaurelal Sohanlal Jain, Gwalior.

692. One silver and two copper coins.

From the Estate of Guruji Sahib, Gwalior.

693. Old papers.

694. Old coins.

From Mr Gyasuddin Shah, Gwalior.

695. *Farman* of Emperor Shah Alam granting *Mauza* Bijeypur to Shaikh Gyasuddin Muhammad, H. S. 1217.

696. *Farman* of the Emperor granting *Mauza* Gouspura, H. S. 1217.

697. *Farman* of Emperor Akbar granting *Mauza* Gouspura to Shaikh Muhammad.

698. *Farman* of Emperor Aurangzib granting *Mauza* Gouspura to Shah Dost Mohammad, H. S. 1077.

From Mr Hayat Mohammad, Gwalior.

699. Picture of Nana Sahib.

From Madhav Moreshwar Garde, Gwalior.

700. One sheet of used old Indian Postage Stamps.

From Mr Musawar Daud, Artist and Photographer, Gwalior.

Pictures.

701. Ghulam Haidar.
702. Mulla Do Piyaza.
703. Dalip Singh, Lahore.
704. Maharaja Jayaji Rao. (3).
705. Maharaja Jankoji Rao. (2).
706. Sardar Mama Saheb Kadam.
707. Maharaja Prithvi Singh of Jhalrapatan.
708. Baba Saheb Mahurkar.
709. Khande Rao Holkar.
710. Maharaja Jayaji Rao Scindia.
711. Ragini Bangali of Naon. (6).
712. Bungalow.
713. Bhairanwi.
714. Kankum.
715. Badari.
716. Asawri.
717. Kshat.
718. Kamadin.
719. Ragni Gujri.
720. A girl and her companion.

From Mr Musawar Daud, Artist and Photographer, Gwalior—*contd.*

Pictures—contd.

721. Seven ladies.
722. Sita Swamber.
723. Monkeys' show at a fair.
724. A Faqir.
725. Raja Zalim Singh of Kotah.
726. A Shamiana.
727. A temple in which *sadhus* are praying.
728. A prince lying in his room.
729. Maharaja Sayajirao of Baroda.
730. Bawa Nanak.
731. A Maulavi.
732. A Rais.
733. A tree under which some *faqirs* are smoking, etc.
734. A water bath.
735. A son of Jyajirao Scindia.

From Mr Nhavkar, Gwalior.

736. Eleven copper coins and one silver coin.

From Choudhri Foujdar Randhir Singh, Gwalior.

737. A pistol.
738. A *Jama* (an iron weapon).
739. Eighteen old coins.
740-41. Two pictures of the Rani of Jhansi on horse back.

From Nigrahal Sahib of Samsthan Shree Sahib, Gwalior

742. A picture of Shri Botal Sahib.

From Mr Ram Narayan Vakil, Gwalior.

743. A Persian manuscript of the poems of Jalaluddin.
744. Picture of King Edward VII.
745. Picture of Sir Dinkar Rao.
746. A Persian manuscript, 3 centuries old.
747. A Persian manuscript, 228 years old

From Mr Ramrao Vyankatrao Patankar, Gwalior.

748. A picture of Sar Naubat Sahib.
749. A picture of Jayaji Rao Scindia and Angre Saheb.
750. A picture of Jankoji Rao Scindia.
751. A picture of Hindu Rao Baba.
752. A picture of Rao Saheb Patankar.

From Mr S. M. Karpe, Superintendent, Samsthan Sorthi Boa, Gwalior.

753-54. Ivory toys.

From Samsthan Khatke Sahib, Superintendent, Court of Wards, Gwalior.

755. One *kirach* with gold coated handle presented by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to Ganpatrao Khatke.

From Seth Shrikrishna, Gwalior.

756. A silver coin of Allauddin, H. S. 1013.

From Mr Shrinawas Rao Katti, Gwalior.

757. *Sanad* from Sakhu Bai Scindia granting 120 bighas of land to Balachar Katti on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in *Shaka* 1713.
758. *Sanad* from Daulat Rao Scindia granting an annuity of Rs. 300 to Balacharya.

From Mr Trimbak Rao Narayan Rao Kakirde, Gwalior.

759. Astronomical globe with stand, Diameter $8\frac{1}{2}''$.
760. Astronomical globe with stand, Diameter $4\frac{1}{2}''$.

From the Estate of Withal Rao Scinde, Gwalior.

761. Some old letters relating to *Shiladari* transactions.

From Mr Yeshwant Rao Scinde, Gwalior.

762. One *kirach* with ivory handle and green velvet case.

From Sardar Nilkantha Rao Sahib Nimbalkar, Lashkar.

763-65. Two swords and a dagger.

766. *Parwana* from Baji Rao II transferring village Wathar from Janrao Naik Nimbalkar to Kusaji, son of Santaji Patil Nimbalkar.

767. *Sanad* from Janrao Naik to Kusaji Nimbalkar granting village Wathar to the latter, *Shaka* 1722.

768. Letter from Janoji Rao to village authorities about the above grant.

769. Letter of relinquishment of the above village from Janoji Rao.

770. Deed of grant of half *chahur* land in village Wathar to Vyankat Rao Nimbalkar, *Hijri* 1185.

771. Order to his officers from Baji Rao II informing of the grant of Wathar to Kusaji Nimbalkar, *Shaka* 1723.

772. Introductory letter from Daulat Rao Scindia for Anand Rao Nimbalkar to Sadashiv Rangnath Wanwale, *Hijri* 1119.

773. Order from Daulat Rao Scindia to Janardan Ballal to release from attachment in village Sonewadi, *taluk* Patas of *subah* Wadgao, *pargana* Parner.

774. Letter from Raghoji Bhosla of Nagpur to Narayan Rao at Poona to assist Bapuji Nimbalkar in clearing the accounts in Poona Durbar.

775. Sale deed of the rights of *Kaji* of Wathar executed in *Shaka* 1598.

776. Assessment deed of *mauza* Bhade, *pargana* Shirwal.

777. Order of Pant Sachiv, giving *mauza* Bhade, *pargana* Shirwal in *Inam* to Kusaji Nimbalkar of Wathar.

778. *Sanad* to Kusaji Nimbalkar, granting *mauza* Bhade in *Inam* by Sachiv.

779. Order to Vithal Rao Rangnath, etc., informing them of the above grant.

780. Order relating to the above grant in the name of Deshmukh and Deshpande, *pargana* Shirwal.

781. Copy of a document of debt written by Chimnaji Shankar Sachiv to Khande Rao Nimbalkar.

782. Order of Baji Rao II to his district officers informing them of the grant in *Inam* of Wathar.

783. Letter from Baji Rao II to Kusaji about the grant of Wathar.

784. Order for the above grant in the name of Deshmukh and Deshpande.

785. A history of the family of Nimbalkar of Wathar.

From Syed Ahmed Husain Sain, Madhogunj, Lashkar.

786. Chahar Ansar (a Persian manuscript).
787. Sahife Shahi (a Persian manuscript).

From Professor B. L. Wajpayee, Victoria College, Lashkar.

788. " Sapt Shati " (a manuscript).
789. Silver and copper coins.

From Mr Agnihorti, Diwan to Kadam Sahib, Lashkar.

790. A manuscript history of the family of Kadam Sahib.

From Bapu Sahib Ingle, Madhogunj, Lashkar.

791. Document of debt and a letter from Bhosle of Nagpur.

From Bhaya Sahib Bhagwat, Lala ka Bazar, Lashkar.

792. A copper plate inscription, dated *Phagun* vadi I. *Samvat* 1855.

From M. Daya Shankar, Clerk, Darbar Records, Special Section, Lashkar.

793. Copy of an unpublished manuscript of " Gwalior Nama " or History of Gwalior.

From B. Kishan Narain, Head Clerk, C. I. D., Lashkar.

794-95. Copies of unpublished manuscripts of:—
1. Hasht Bahisht by Amir Khushro.
2. Masnawi Gulgastafi by Mir Abul A'l, copies made in the reign of Maharaja Jankoji Rao, 29th August 1842.

From Mr M. K. Desai, Bala Bai Bazar, Lashkar.

796. Ancient manuscript " Diwan Hafiz " in round shape.
797. Picture of a girl in Muhammadan dress.
798. *Ramayan* in Telugu language on palm leaves.
799. *Shahnama*.
800. Mina Bazar (book).
801. A copper plate *sanad*, *Samvat* 1757.

From Mr Madho Rao Laxman Shegdar, Goth Fadnis Sahib, Lashkar.

802. Four silver coins.

From Mr Mangesh Shankar, Pagnis, Lashkar.

803. *Mahabharat.*

From Mr Ramchandra Rao Scindia Kopardekar, Lashkar.

804. Correspondence about *shiladari* matters.

From Mr Ram Narain Saksena, Teacher, Gorkhi Middle School, Lashkar.

805-808. Nine old coins:—gold 1, brass 1, copper 3 and billon 4.

From Mr Sahasrabuddhe, Lala ka Bazar, Lashkar.

809. System of Marathi Survey (Marathi).
810. System of British Indian Survey (Marathi).
811. Assessment of Wadgaon, *pargana* Sangamner, District Ahmednagar, *Samvat* 1897 (Marathi).
812. A manuscript of Maratha Rajas and Sardars.

From Mr Shankar Dada Jyotishi, Madhogunj, Lashkar.

813. *Wriddha Yawana Jataka* written in *Shaka* 1737.
814. A Sanskrit book.

From Mr Shankar Sadashiv Thakur, Chitnis Goth, Apte's New Wada, Lashkar.

815. *Sanad* of Maharaja Daulat Rao giving an annual grant of Rs. 500 and 300 bighas of land to Ram Krishna Bhat and Rajaram Bhat, Thakurs of Benares.
816. Ditto., in pieces.
817. One *sanad* of John Baptist Filose.

From Mr Shukalchand, Daulatgunj, Lashkar.

Pictures.

818. Emperor Jahangir (two pictures).
819. Princess Nurjahan.
820. Durbar of Emperor Jahangir.
821. Emperor Shah Jahan.
822. Shah Jahan and Jahangir.
823. Muhammad Ghaus.
824. A Persian Queen.
825. A Persian Princess.
826. Another Princess of Persia.
827. A Deccani Prince.

From Mr Vishnu Balaji Rakhe, Madhogunj, Lashkar.

828. Syamantaka Akhyan from Nandi Puran written in *Shaka* **1680.**

829. Bhagwat Gita written in *Shaka* 1677.

830. A manuscript account and collection of pictures of Indian **Maha-**rajas.

831. A Persian manuscript containing:—

    1. Muntakhebat Farsi.
    2. Dasturul Sibian.
    3. Inshae Dilchasp.
    4. Dasturul Muktubat.
    5. Ho-al-Masta'an.

832. A picture of Amar Singh Rathor.

833. A picture of Mahrab Shah Wali.

From the Estate of Wipat Sahib, Lashkar.

834. Two decrees and two *Agahinamas.*

From Choudhri Bhawani Singh Jagirdar, Achalgarh, Gwalior.

835. A gun $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long.

From Mr Madho Narayan Kakirde, Apte's Paigah, Gwalior.

836. Astronomical Astrolabe in Hindi.

From Raja Sahib, Bhadora.

837. Picture of Maharaja Hamir Singh, Udeypur.

838. Picture of Sangram Singh of Udeypur.

839. Picture of Begam Nurjahan.

840. Picture of Maharana Shree Jawan Singh, Udeypur.

841. Picture of Maharaja Madho Singh, Narwar.

842. Picture of Colonel Sir Pratap Singh.

843. Picture of Malhar Rao Holkar.

844. Picture of Maharaja Mangho Singh of Narwar.

From Pandit Ramlalbhat, Bhadora.

845. Arjun Gita, *Samvat* 1750.

846. Bhagwat Gita.

From Pandit Suwalal Jati, Bhind, Gwalior.

847. A manuscript "Karpur Chakra".

From Chimanlal, son of Sheolal, Zamindar of village Budha Dungar, Pargana Kolaras, District Narwar.

848. *Sanad* from Raja Chhatra Singh of Narwar, granting land and other Haqs to Chain Rai Qanungo. *Samvat* 1761.
849. *Sanad* from Raja Chhatra Singh of Narwar, granting land and other Haqs to Domani Pitamardas. *Samvat* 1819.

From Mr Beharilal Nagor of Chachoda, Esagarh, Gwalior.

850. Bhagwat Gita written more than 300 years ago.
851. Bhagwat Gita with 7 pictures, written 175 years ago.
852. Tajiksar (an astronomic book) written 307 years ago.
853. Lilawati (Mathematics) written 150 years ago.
854. Times of eclipse in other countries.
855. Geography written 150 years ago.

From Choudhri Mangilal of Chachoda, Esagarh, Gwalior.

856. Two pistols with brass barrels.
857. A gold coin of Shah Alam.
858. Seven silver coins.

From Mr Motikhan Kotwal, Chachoda, Esagarh, Gwalior.

859. Quran Sharif written 300 years ago.

From Seth Jaigopal of Chachoda, Esagarh, Gwalior.

860. Nine copper coins.
861. A gold coin of the time of the Tughlak Emperors.

From Seth Kania Lal of Chachoda, Esagarh, Gwalior.

862. Eight Rupees of Muhammadan period.

From Pandit Kashinath Vaidya of Chanderi, Gwalior.

863. Bhagwat Gita (one inch).
864. A letter of Captain Scott to Maharaja Mardan Singh of Banpur in 1857.
865. A history of Chanderi in Persian written in H. S. 1080.
866. A history of Bundela Rajas from the year V. S. 677.

From Maulana Mahtab Khan of Chanderi, Gwalior.

867. *Quran Sharif* 200 years old.
868. Four copper coins.

From Mr Mannilal Kanialal of Chanderi, Gwalior.

869. A silver coin.

From Mr Raj Kishore Vaidya of Chanderi, Gwalior.

870. Copper coins.
871. A book " Veer Singh Awalokan ".

From Mr Pannalal and others, Kulmi Udpura, c/o Trimbakrao Bapuji, Chikley, Mandsaur, Gwalior.

872. Copy of a decree about land.

From Mr Misri Lal Patwari of Esagarh, Gwalior.

873. A picture of Jayaji Rao Scindia 50 years old.
874. A picture of Peshwa Baji Rao.

From Panchas of Balaji Temple, Esagarh, Gwalior.

875. A picture of Swami Ramdas. 100 years old.
876. A picture of Waraha Avatar. 100 years old.
877. A picture of the Rani of Jhansi.

From Seth Pannalal of Esagarh, Gwalior.

878. A picture of Madho Maharaja. 40 years old.

From Mr Moreshwar Hari Siladar, Gadhavi's Goth, Gwalior.

879. A *bakhar* of Panipat.
880. A *bakhar* of " Vyavahar Shiksha ".

From Mr Badri Prasad, Head Clerk, Court of Wards, Guna.

881. Four silver coins.

From Babu Nityanand, Naib-Tehsildar, Guna.

882. A silver coin of Iran.
883. A sheet of stamps, *Samvat* 1860.

From Babu Shyama Charan, Weaving Master, A. V. M. School, Guna.

884. A silver coin.

885. A brass coin.

886. Three copper coins.

From Mr V. Nagaraja Rao, Drawing Master, S. N. Hindi High School, S. Hiyali S. I. R., Gwalior.

887. One picture map—Saints and saviours of the caste system.

888. One picture map—Ancient shrines and monuments of India.

From Mr Jadoram, son of Mr Jagannath Brahman of Kasba Sayat, Gwalior.

889. Letter of Mahadji Scindia to Sadashiv Krishna Kamasdar for not allowing anyone to meddle with the land of Balkrishna Brahman of Sayat.

From Mr Bahadursingh, son of Sarjan Singh, Zamindar of Kayampur, Pargana Suwasda, Gwalior.

890. A *Farman* of Emperor Aurangzib of 1114 Hijri.

891. A *Farman* of Emperor Aurangzib of 1117 Hijri.

From the Judicial Officer, Kumbharaj, Gwalior.

892. Two silver coins.

From Mr Behari, son of Mr Mohansingh Sonar, Mungaoli, Gwalior.

893. Two silver rupees.

From Mr Nannulal Arayaz Nawis of Mungaoli, Gwalior.

894. A copper coin.

From Messrs Phoolchand and Pannalal of Mungaoli, Gwalior.

895. One silver coin.

From Mr Pyarelal Partabchand Saraf of Mungaoli, Gwalior.

896. Two silver coins.

From Mr Jalamsingh, son of Mr Devisingh Rajput, Mauza Nishaina, Gwalior.

897. *Sanad* for 200 bighas of land from Ranoji Scindia to Bhero Singh, son of Motisingh Thakur, of *mauza* Nishanya, *pargana* Sayat.

From Mr B. R. Bhalerao, Tahsildar, Nurabad, Gwalior.

898. " Vishwa Prapanch Sar," being manuscripts in Ardh Maghadi by a *Jati* named Manakchand.
899. First Marathi book printed in Modi type in Bengal, 1815 A.D.
900. A picture of Khande Rao Hari.

From Mr Bilasi Ram Gijori, Pichhore, Gird, Gwalior.

901. A manuscript entitled " Kavipriya ".

From Mr Keshava Deo Panda, Pichhore, Gird, Gwalior.

902. Ramayan and other manuscripts.
903. Panchang, V. S. 1868.
904. Bhagwat Gita written in V. S. 1883.
905. A manuscript Vritsat.

From Pandit Bhawar Lal, Raghogarh, Gwalior.

906. Ramayan, Uttarakand.

From Dr Gaurelal, Raghogarh, Gwalior.

907. Johare Hikmat, 500 years old.

From Mr Onkar Lal Vyas, Raghogarh, Gwalior.

908. Usha Charitra.

From Mr Pannalal, Raghogarh, Gwalior.

909. A *sanad* of the time of Nasiruddin Shah.

From Pandit Sawalal, Raghogarh, Gwalior.

910. Viwaha Paddhati, *Samvat* 1869.

From Mr Chimanlal Mathur, Sabalgarh, Gwalior.

911-12. Copper coins.

From Mr Wasudeo Narayan Shriwastav, Registrar Quanungo, Sabalgarh, Gwalior.

913. Bhagwat Gita written in *Samvat* 1833.
914. Vidya Ratna Bhandar (book).
915. A list of kings from Yudhisthir down to *Samvat* 1882.

From Raja Sahib, Sheopur, Baroda. (Through Kamdar Sahib.)

Arms.

916. One sword.
917. One sword with inscription in Persian.
918. One dagger with Sanskrit inscription.
919. One dagger with carving in gold.
920. One dagger with horn handle.
921. One dagger with glass handle.

Paintings.

922. Maharaja Abhayasinghji.
923. Raja Ramasinghji.
924. Farrukhsiya.
925. Ibrahim Bin (Adhay Bolklu).
926. Rag Mal Kousa.
927. Rag Singhavi.

From Panch Ratan Singh Thakur of Sunawali, Pargana Ambah, District Tawarghar, Gwalior.

928. A gun (Todadar).
929-30. Two heavy swords.

From Mr Antoji Damodar, Ujjain, Gwalior.

931. One silver Rupee of Emperor Akbar, *Hijri San.* 982.

From Mr Prem Vijaya Jati, Ujjain, Gwalior.

932. Laka Prakash, a book on many subjects and illustrated.
933. Life of Raja Bhoja by Raj Vallabh written in V. S. 1655.
934. Ramkrishna Choupadi saying that Rama and Krishna were Jains.
935. A life of Raja Prithvi Chandra.
936. Life of Raja Chandra, V. S. 1770.
937. Life of Shri Parshwa Natha Bhava, V. S. 1727.
938. Vardhman Desana, an account of Vardhmana Awami.
939. Life of Sukamal.
940. Life of Munipati.
941. Life of Shauli Nath.
942. Life of King Uttama.

From Mr Prem Vijaya Jati, Ujjain, Gwalior—*contd.*

943. Life of Neminatha.
944. An account of the Uddar of Shatrun Jaya.
945. An Akkhyana of Raja Bali.
946. Prabodh Chintamani.
947. Kalpa Sutra.
948. Pratyakhyan.
949. Laghu Shanti Stotra.
950. The story of King Chandra Datta Dhawal.
951. The story of Ashok Chandra.
952. Grammar in questions and answers.
953. Life of Rishi Datta.
954. Hansraja Vachhraja Ras.
955. Uttaradhyan Vrithi.
956. A commentary on Sudar Lahari.
957. Sinhasan Battishi, V. S. 1531.
958. Kshetra Samas.
959. Vidhi Shyam.
960. Life of Shripal.
961. Panna Warna, a sutra of Jains.
962. A description of Jambu Dwipa.
963. A life of Samaraditya.
964. A life of Wastupal Tejpal.
965. Shaswat Kosha written on palm leaf in V. S. 1240.
966. Vinaya Patra of Bikaner.
967. Vinaya Patra of Jayapur.
968. Vinaya Patra of Murshidabad.

From Seth Karam Chand, Ujjain, Gwalior.

969. One Gold Mohur of Emperor Aurangzib, 1109.
970. Two silver rupees—one of Delhi and the other of Mandu and one *chouanni* of Mandu.

From the Suba Sahib, Ujjain, Gwalior.

Pictures.

971. Emperors (six).
972. Begam of Bhopal.

From the Suba Sahib, Ujjain, Gwalior—*contd.*

Pictures—contd.

973. A Sardar.
974. A European family.
975. European nobleman.
976. A stone inscription.

From Pandit Surya Narayanji Vyas, Ujjain, Gwalior.

977. Fifteen copper coins of which ten are styled " Gadhai ".

From Mr Jugal Kishore, Engineer, Madhonagar, Ujjain, Gwalior.

Paintings on glass.

978. Sawai Madho Rao Peshwa:
979. Mahadji Scindia.

From Kamdar Saheb Bagli, Malwa.

980. Gun, *Todadar*, four bores.
981. Armour in four parts, two *dastas* and one helmet.
982-83. Two *tabars*.
984. One *farsha*.

From Mr V. D. Dhawle, Assistant Goods Clerk, Indore.

985. Old coins (121).

From Munshi Sunderlal, Managing Proprietor, Cotton Ginning Press, Bhagana P. O., Neemuch.

986. A Persian manuscript.

From the Indore Durbar.

987. Handwriting of Peshwa Bajirao I.
988-89. Two seals. No I shows the seal of H. H. Malhar Rao Holkar I. No II shows the seal of Saubhagyavati Gautamabai Holkar.
990. *Sanad* granted by H. H. Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Holkar. Bears the seal of Khanderao (his nephew).
991. Sanad passed by H. H. Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Holkar wherein he styles himself as Rajrajeshwar, etc., etc.
992. Sanad passed by H. H. Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Holkar in the usual Holkar style.

From the Indore Durbar—*contd.*

Photos.

993. Remnant of the Palace of Peshwa Baji Rao I at Raverkhedi on the banks of the Narbada.
994. Temple of Shri Rameshwar built by Peshwa Baji Rao I at Raverkhedi.
995. Chhatri of Peshwa Baji Rao I at Raverkhedi.
996. Spot where the ashes of Peshwa Baji Rao I rest at Raverkhedi.
997. Chart showing the charities of Devi Shri Ahilyabai.
998. Picture of Peshwa Baji Rao I.
999. Shri Ahilya Prabhawa (a big map).

From the Dhar Durbar.

Inscriptions.

1000. Ink impression of Parmar Arjun Varma Deva's dramatic eulogy in Sanskrit, first two acts (A.D. 1210-16).
1001. Ink impression of a series of Prakrit poems on tortoise incarnation of Vishnu by Parmar King Raja Bhoja Deva (A.D. 1010-1055) with his name and title, found in Raja Bhoja's school at Dhar.
1002. Ink impression of a grammatical serpentine table of Sanksrit Alphabet carved on a pillar in Raja Bhoja's school at Dhar (12 Century A.D.) with its transcript and necessary explanation.
1003. Ink impression of a grammatical serpentine table of Sanskrit Verbal and inflectional terminations carved on a pillar in Raja Bhoja's school at Dhar (12 Century A.D.) with its transcript and explanation.
1004. Fragment of Raja Bhoja's Prakrit poem styled Kodanda with his name and title (A.D. 1010-1055).
1005. Small fragment of a Prakrit poem referring to the Iron lat commemorating the victory of Raja Bhoj Deva (C. 1019-20 A.D.).
1006. Yantra or magical figure containing mysterious Sanskrit syllables used as a charm.

Photos of images.

1007. Photo of an image of Saraswati in the British Museum of the time of Raja Bhoja Deva of Dhar with an inscription on the pedestal giving Raja Bhoja's name and Samvat 1091 (A.D. 1034).
1008. Photo of an image of Devi at Dhar, dated Samvat 1138 (A.D. 1081).

From the Dhar Durbar—*contd.*

Photos and copies of letters.

1009. Photo and copy of a Marathi autograph *sanad* of Peshwa Baji Rao I granting Udajirao Pawar half of the Mokasa of Malwa and Gujarat as *Saranjam*, dated 3 Dec. 1722.

1010. Photo and copy of a Marathi autograph letter of Peshwa Baji Rao I addressed to Anand Rao Pawar I of Dhar, dated 20 Jan. 1728.

1011. Photo and copy of a Marathi autograph letter of Peshwa Baji Rao I addressed to Anandraoji Pawar I of Dhar, dated 21 Jan. 1728.

1012. Photo and copy of a Marathi letter of Peshwa Baji Rao I addressed to Anand Rao Pawar I of Dhar, dated 24 June 1734.

1013. Photo and copy of a Marathi letter of Peshwa Baji Rao I addressed to Anand Rao Pawar I of Dhar, dated 25 June 1734.

1014. Photos of 5 Persian letters of Peshwa Baji Rao I addressed to the then Subadars of Malwa and Gujarat authorising Udaji Rao Pawar to collect Maratha dues, dated 1726 A.D.

1015. Photo of a Persian letter of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaja to Sirbuland Khan the then Subadar of Gujarat, concerning Udaji Rao Pawar who was sent with a force for punishing the rebels in Gujarat, 1726 A.D.

From the Ratlam Durbar.

Old and curious weapons.

1016. Katar with two blades.

1017. Katar with two pistols at the handle (combination).

1018. Katar with a pistol in the blade.

1019. Pesh kabz (dagger) with enamelled sheath.

1020-21. Two Bichhwas (dagger) with glass handle.

1022. Bichhwa with a handle of green stone with inlaid gold pattern.

1023. Javelin head and pistol combined.

1024. Sword of straight blade which can be twisted (springy).

1025. Long sword.

1026. Scimitar (una) with a curved blade.

1027. Damdamacha (sword).

1028. Fire-arm in the form of a walking stick.

1029. Do with detachable wooden stock.

1030-31. Two Chakkars (circular weapon).

1032. Singsaj or powder horn (of shell).

From the Ratlam Durbar—*contd.*

Manuscripts.

1033. *Vachanika—Vachanika Ratana Singhji Ki Mahesadasotari.*—Celebrates the glorious death of Ratan Singh, the founder of Ratlam, in the service of his Emperor, Shah Jahan, when fighting at Fatehabad against the rebel Princes, Aurangzib and Murad, in 1658 A.D. Written by a contemporaneous bard Khiriyo Jago: composed in Pingala.

1034. *Ratana Raso.*—Compiled by Sadu Kumbhakarana in Pingala. This work is alluded to by Col. Tod in his "Rajasthan". It contains an account of the battle of Fatehabad (near Ujjain) and Ratan Singh's heroic deeds; also an account of his adventure with an infuriated elephant, Kehar Koh, at the Imperial Court; as well as the feats of Ratan Singh's father Mahesa Dasa and other ancestors.

1035. *Salhotra, Ms.* (*Hindi*).—Veterinary Science with coloured illustrations.

Old Copper Plates.

1036-37. *Two sets of Plates.*—*First* issued in Gupta Samvat 320 (A.D. 639-40) from Vallabhi (in Kathiawar) by Dhruvasena II to two Brahmans of Dashapura (Mandasor), granting them 100 bhaktis of land. It mentions Navagram (now Naugama, twelve miles North of the town of Ratlam), Varahodaka (Bharoda), Pulindanaka (Palduna), etc., all close to Naugama, where the plates were found. The *second* grant is dated, Camp Vanditpalli, G. S. 321 (A.D. 640-41) granting land in the Vishaya (district) of Malavika. The places mentioned as boundaries of the field (100 bhaktis) granted, are Dhammanhaddika (now Dhamnode), Chandraputraka (Chandoria), etc.

Paintings, Rajput School.

Coloured Pictures of Rulers of Ratlam.

1038. Maharaja Ratan Singh 1652-58, A.D. (Founder of Ratlam State).

1039. Maharaja Ram Singh, 1658-82.

1040. Maharaja Chhatrasal, 1684-1709.

1041. Maharaja Kesri Singh, 1709-16.

1042. Maharaja Man Singh, 1716-43.

1043. Maharaja Prithwi Singh, 1743-73.

1044. Maharaja Padam Singh, 1773-1800.

1045. Maharaja Parbat Singh, 1800-25.

From the Ratlam Durbar—*contd.*

Paintings, Rajput School—contd.

Coloured Pictures of Rulers of Ratlam—*contd.*

1046. Maharaja Balwant Singh, 1825-57.
   (*a*) Gangore ki Sawari (grand procession).
   (*b*) Elephant Jastalak.
   (*c*) Horse Ablakh (Skewbald).
   (*d*) Another skewbald horse.
1047. Prithviraj Chauhan (died in 1192 A.D.).
1048. Blind Prithviraj shooting the Sultan with a bow and an arrow.
1049. Ranjit Singh, Ruler of the Punjab (died in 1839 A.D.).
1050. Ranjit Singh's horse and one-eyed syce.

Mughal Emperors.

1051. Timur. (Invaded India in 1398.)
1052. Babar. (1526-30.)
1053. Jahangir. (1605-27.)
1054. Nur Jahan.
1055. Shah Jahan. (1627-58.)
1056. Prince Dara Shikoh.
1057. Aurangzib. (1658-1707.)
1058. Ahmed Shah Irani.
1059. Prince Sipeher Shukoh.
1060. Khwaja Sara.
1061. Badshah and Yogis.
1062. Badshah hunting with hawk.
1063. Persian Nobles.
1064. Husain bano of Delhi.
1065. Mulla do-pyaza.
1066. Royal bard.
1067. Faqir treating a sick child.
1068. Akbar II. (Titular King of Delhi, 1806-37.
1069. Akbar II in a royal palankeen.

Mughal Princesses.

1070. 27 Pictures.

From the Ratlam Durbar—*concld.*

Pictures, Rajput School.

Ragnis (Visualized Musical Modes).

1071-93. 1. Todi. 2. Bilawal. 3. Sarang. 4. Hindol. 5. Lalit. 6. Dipak. 7. Ramkali. 8. Kumkab. 9. Bhairavi. 10. Dhanasri. 11. Megh malar. 12. Singhvi. 13. Madhu madhavi. 14. Purbi. 15. Sorath. 16. Kamod. 17. Kedar. 18. Pancham. 19. Baradi. 20. Bangal. 21. Sakha. 22. Godi. 23. Ragni (not named).

Baramasi (the Twelve Hindu Months).

1094-1105. 1. Chaitra. 2. Baisakh. 3. Jeth. 4. Ashad. 5. Sawan. 6. Bhadva. 7. Kunwar. 8. Kati. 9. Pos. 10. Agan. 11. Magh. 12. Phagun.

From the Punjab Record Office.

(Through Lala Sita Ram Kohli, M.A., Lecturer in History, Government College, Lahore.)

1106. Punjab Record Office Album of Historical documents.

1107. Old Painting illustrating the battle of Jamrud, 1836, between the Afghans and the Sikhs.

From the Delhi Fort Museum.

1108. Masnawi Rum, 1602.

1109. Diwan-i-Hafiz, 1578.

1110. Darbar of Akbar Shah II, presented by the Jain Community of Delhi.

1111. Manuscript copy of the Mukhtanama.

1112. Humayun.

1113. Frame containing 10 specimens of calligraphy.

From Rai Bahadur Lala Paras Das, Honorary Magistrate and Government Treasurer, Delhi.

Pictures.

1114. Darbar of Maharaja Pirthwi Raj.

1115. Raja Ram Singh of Jaipur.

1116. Tansen (State musician of Akbar the Great).

1117. Maharani Lachmi Bai of Jhansi (who fought against the British in 1857).

From Rai Bahadur Lala Paras Das, Honorary Magistrate and Government Treasurer, Delhi—*contd.*

Pictures—contd.

1118. Maharaja Pirthwi Raj attacked by a lion.
1119. Jodha Bai (Queen of Akbar the Great).
1120. Emperor Muhammad Tughlak.
1121. King Ali Adil Shah of Deccan.
1122. Sultan Abu Saiyid.
1123. Salabat Khan (Prime Minister of Emperor Shah Jahan).
1124. Mariam Zamani Begam.
1125. Mirza Muhammad Jahangir (Younger brother of the last king of Delhi).
1126. Faizi (Courtier of Emperor Akbar the Great).
1127. Nawab Shujah-ud-Daulah of Oudh.
1128. Chand Bibi (Queen of Deccan).
1129. Muhammad Mauzam Shah (Eldest son of Aurangzib).
1130. Momin Khan, Poet (as a youth).
1131. Momin Khan, Poet (Middle age).
1132. Raja Jisukh Rai (Courtier of Akbar II).
1133. Bernier.
1134. Mr. Currie (Resident of Delhi).
1135. Emperor Shah Alam.
1136. Nawab Khan Khana starting for war.
1137. An old war scene with elephants.
1138. Akbar the Great standing with Birbal and Todarmal.
1139. An execution in the olden days.
1140. The son of Begam Samru.
1141. Mirza Dara Bakht, Nawab Zulfikar Khan, Sufi Alliyar Khan.
1142. Raghuji Bhonsla, Appaji, Balaji Rao Peshwa.
1143. Abdur Rahim, Khan Khana (Courtier of Akbar the Great).
1144. Hisam-ud-din Haidar, Alexander Skinner, Ata Ullah Safir.
1145. Raja Bhim Singh Panj Hazari.
1146. Sultan Murad Bakhsh, brother of Emperor Aurangzib, starting from Agra with staff.
1147. Shahzada Muhammad Sultan.
1148. Himu Baqqal, a rebel who fought against Humayun for the throne.

From Rái Bahadur Lala Paras Das, Honorary Magistrate and Government Treasurer, Delhi—*concld.*

Pictures—concld.

1149. Shah Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Ibn Altamash, Sher Khan.
1150. Shahzada Salim and Rani Jodha Bai.
1151. Dara Shikoh in hand-cuffs before Aurangzib.
1152. Nadir Shah.
1153. Hazrat Fidai Husain, saint.
1154. King Ibrahim Lodi.
1155. Badshah Begam, daughter of Aurangzib.
1156. Alexander the Great.
1157. Hafiz Shirazi, Persian Poet.
1158. Bakhshi Mahmud, Minister of Shah Alam.
1159. Akbar the Second and Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
1160. Queen Mira Bai of Chitore.
1161. Jahangir and Nur Jahan.
1162. An Insignia.
1163. Khan Khana (Courtier of Akbar the Great).
1164. Darbar of Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia.
1165. Jahangir's marriage with Raja Man Singh's sister.
1166. Shah Jahan sitting in Darbar on the Peacock Throne.
1167. Seal impressions of various Emperors of Delhi.
1168. A battle scene between Shahab-ud-din Ghori and Rae Pithora (Prithwi Raj).
1169. Siege of Golconda by Aurangzib.
1170. Darbar of Salim Shah, the Afghan King of Delhi.
1171. A Serai at Kabul.
1172. Raja Jiwaji Rao going on a haunting expedition.
1173. Accidental meeting of Laila and Majnun.
1174. Darbar of the Persian invader Nadir Shah.
1175. Emperor Akbar the Great holding Darbar with his Nawratan (Nine best courtiers).

From Lala Manohar Lal, Jeweller, Delhi.

Pictures.

1176. Zinat Mahal Begam (Last queen of Delhi).
1177. Mira Bai of Chitore.

From Lala Manohar Lal, Jeweller, Delhi—*contd.*

Pictures—contd.

1178. Daughter of Farrukhsiyar.
1179. Raja Sardar Deva Singh of Punjab.
1180. Aurangzib.
1181. Babar and Hasina Khatun.
1182. Nur Jahan.
1183. Wazir Jahan Begam.
1184. Sultan Abu Saiyid Mirza and Abbasi Khatun and Sultan Muhammad Mirza and Bapsa Khatun.
1185. Sultan Umar Shaikh Mirza and Anwar Zamani Begam.
1186. Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
1187. Maharajadhiraj Sri Prithwi Singh of Jaipur.
1188. Akbar the Great.
1189. Sivaji.
1190. Akbar the Great.
1191. Ayaz, Treasurer and slave of Mahmud of Ghazni.
1192. Maharaja Sri Kishor Singh of Kutora (Kotah?).
1193. Maharaja Suraj Singh of Bikaner.
1194. Raja Bishan Singh of Bundi.
1195. Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh of Jaipur.
1196. Maharaja Basant Singh of Rathore.
1197. Raja Tej Singh, Commander-in-Chief of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

From Pirji Abdur Razaq, Delhi.

Pictures.

1198. Nawab Abdur Rahaman Khan of Jhajar.
1199. Imam Baqar, one of the descendants of Ali, son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad.
1200. Salim Chisti visited by Shaikh Abdul Nabi (the chief justice of Akbar) and Princes Salim and Danial.
1201. Lord Cornwallis receiving the sons of Tippu Sultan as hostages.
1202. Darbar of Shah Jahan.
1203. Daughter of Ali Adil Shah, King of Bijapur.
1204. Emperor Jahangir.
1205. Swami Haridas and Tansen.

From Pirji Abdur Razaq, Delhi—*contd.*

Pictures—contd.

1206. Mr. Fraser, Resident at Delhi, during the reign of Akbar Shah II.

1207. A battle scene from the Mss. copy of Shahnama written by Firdosi (Persian painting).

1208. Darbar of Shah Jahan painted on ivory.

From Syed Itrat Ali, Golab Khana, Agra.

1209. *Sanad* issued by Abid Khan Sadrus Sadur in the reign of Alamgir I to Mufti Abdul Baki, Mufti of Akbarabad (Agra), 1077 A.H.

1210. *Sanad* issued to Mufti Abdul Baki, Mufti of Agra, in the reign of Alamgir I, by Jafar Khan, 1072 A.H.

1211. *Farman* of Shah Alam Badshah issued to Muhammad Kazim raising him to the post of Panj Sadi (Mansib) and Supervisor of the Tomb of Taj Mahal, 1147 A.H.

1212. *Farman* Jaghir Shaikh Saad Ullah, Zamindar of Bayana, issued by King Akbar, 976 A.H.

1213. *Parwana* Nawab Saad-ud-din Khan Bahadur Khan-Saman issued to Shaikh Muhammad Alam by Hafiz Khan in the reign of Alamgir I. 4 Jalusi Mobarik.

1214. Copy of a *Farman* of Musjid Ali of Agra under the seal of Mufti Ghulam Husain, 1183 A.H.

1215. *Haft Kulzum*, a book on Persian Literature by Maulavi Kabul Muhammad written under the order of King Ghaziuddin Haidar, 1230 A.H.

1216. *Ikbal Nama Jahangiri* (History of the reign of Jahangir) by Mutamid Khan, 1027 A.H.

1217. A book dealing with the rules of Tasauwuf (mysticism), 729 A.H.

1218. Quran-ussadain, a book or key-note to the Holy Quran by Muhammad Kam Baksh Munshi Sadrus Sadur, 1201 A.H.

1219. A complete History of Agra written by Mir Khushwaqt Ali, 1826 A.H.

1220. History of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali by Haji Abdul Karim, 1141 A.H.

1221. Resala Mohitai Marifat (a book on the principles to find a direct path to God) written by Beni Rai Sati Das (Arif), 1168 A.H.

1222. Nasab-ul-Badi (a book) written by Amir Khusrau of Delhi on Persian literature.

From Syed Itrat Ali, Golab Khana, Agra—*contd.*

1223. A book on the rules and regulations of Tasauwuf (mysticism), written in Khat Shikasta.

1224. A seal of Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti of Ajmere, beariug his own name in the centre and of his disciples (Khalifas) in a circular way round it.

From the Indian Historical Research Institute, St Xavier's College, Bombay.

1225-28. Four sets of copper plates.

1229-31. Four images of Vishnu.

1232. A book of paintings.

1233-36. Four sets of photographs of documents.

Paintings.

1237. Ranjit Singh with attendant.

1238. Golconda (damaged).

From Professor D. V. Potdar, Poona.

1239. *Farman* of Bijapur ordering Jedhe to join Afzal Khan against Shivaji.

1240. *Farman* of Bijapur conferring a land grant on Moroba Gosai, the Brahmini Saint of Chinchward, District Poona.

1241. Letter by Maloji Raje (Grandfather of Shivaji Raje), dated Saba Tissain va Tisa Maye.

1242. Letter written by Nana Farnavis in his own hand to Haripant Phadke from Sironj after the battle of Panipat.

1243. Shri Bhagwat. Nice pictures. Small lettered writing.

1244. Shri Bhagwat. Very fine illustrations, thin soft glazed paper. Nice calligraphy (from the Vinchurkar family).

1245. Letter of Jijabai bearing her Persian seal, concerning a tree dispute, dated 1050 F. Kham Sen Alaf.

1246. Sanskrit Ms., dated *Shaka* 1049 (Samasta Samskera Vidhi).

1247. Letter of condolence by Ahalya Bai Holkar, written after the death of Malhar Rao Holkar to Malba.

1248. Sanskrit Ms. called Samaya Naya by Gagabhat, written for Raja Shambhu Chhatrapati.

1249. Gift deed in Sanskrit by Maharaja Shri Shambhu Chhatrapati in *Shaka* 1602 on the day of his coronation (two lines in Shambhuji's own hand).

From Professor D. V. Potdar, Poona—*contd.*

1250. Letter (commercial) by Khane Azam Rustam Zaman, dated Khamse Arbain Alaf.

1251. Letter by Maharaja Shahuji Raje, dated Ede Kham sen Alaf about Moroba's Chinchwad.

1252. Bijapur *Farman* (translation) of Afzal Khan's invasion.

1253. Letter dated Tisa Israin Alaf about Inam to Moroba Gosavi of Chinchwad.

1254. Hindu Calendar and two other sacred Mss.

1255. Shivbharat (in Hindi) by Kavindra Pramanand. A Ms. copy from the Rajopadhya family of Kolhapur. Gives the history of Shivaji Maharaj in Sanskrit verse, very rare and important.

From Mr P. Pissurlencar, Nova Goa.

1256. Letter from Naro Ram, *Mantri* of Shahu, addressed to Pandurnya Shenir Dhumi, a man of Goa (in Marathi).

1257. Letter from Kavi Kalash, Minister of Sambhaji, to the Subhedar of Phonda (in Marathi).

1258. A Persian *sanad.*

1259. Letter from Vithal Rao Gorakxha, Portuguese envoy at Peshwa's Court in Poona, addressed to Bahuguna Kamt Vaga (in Marathi).

1260. Copy of a treaty between Shivaji and Portuguese Goa.

From Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Lecturer in History, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, and Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

1261. A set of 3 copper plates with ring and seal of the Eastern Chalukya King Vishnuvardhana.

1262. A set of 3 copper plates of the Eastern Chalukya King Vijayaditya.

1263. A set of 3 copper plates with ring and seal of the Eastern Ganga King Devendravarma.

1264. A set of 3 copper plates with ring and seal of the Eastern Ganga King Trikalingadhipati Indravarma.

1265. Photograph showing impressions of 18 gold coins of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga.

1266. Photograph of 12 gold coins of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga.

1267. Two photographs of Buddhist Sculptures found at Ramiredipalli, Kistna District.

From Mr R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Lecturer in History, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, and Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry—*contd.*

1268. Photograph of Jaina Gods found at Mukhalingam, Ganjam District.

1269. Two photographs of Andhra lead coins, 20 in number.

1270. Palmyrah leaf manuscript of the Padmanaika Charita.

1271. Palmyrah leaf manuscript called Rāyavāchakam containing the history of the Aswapathis, Narapathis and Gajapathis.

1272. Cowl granted by the Hon'ble Josias Dupré, Governor of Fort St George to the Muzumdars of Rajahmundry Circar.

1273. Cowl granted to Rajah Kandregula Shreenivasa Rao Jaggernat Bahadur, Mazumdar and Sur Sirstadar of Rajahmundry Circar. Signed by Josias Dupré, Warren Hastings, John Smith and 6 others and dated 12 April 1771.

1274. Cowl granted by Edward Cotsford, Chief at Masula, to K. Venkatrayulu, dated 1780.

1275. Letter of John Whitehill, Chief at Masula, dated Oct. 1774, addressed to the Zamindars of Rajahmundry Circar.

1276. Letter, dated 13 July 1773, bearing the seals and signatures of the President and Council of Fort St George, addressed to K. Venkatrayulu, confirming his offices.

1277. Letter, dated 25 September 1769, bearing a Persian seal and signed by Bouchier, confirming the grant of Nizamuddaulah and ordering Zamindars to recognise his rights.

1278. Letter to C. Venkatrao Jaggernat Bahadur, signed by Charles Smith and Members of Council at Fort St George, reinstating him in his former offices.

1279. Cowl granted by the Governor and Council of Fort St George, dated 3 May 1774, to C. Venkatrayulu.

1280-81. Two letters of John Pybus, requesting Jogi Pantulu to negotiate with Nizam Ali regarding renting of the 5 Circars.

1282. Photograph of Raja Jogi Jogannadharao Bahadur of Rajahmundry Circar.

1283. Photograph of Sher Md Khan of the Chicacole Circar.

1284. Twenty-eight gold coins of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga.

1285. Nine Andhra lead coins of the 1st Century A.D.

1286. Thirty-six Muhammadan copper coins.

1287. Eight Mughal silver coins.

From the "Sharadashram", Yeotmal.

(Through Mr Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B.)

PRE-MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

1288. Impression of a copper plate inscription in old Brahmi characters, not yet read but probably belonging to the 6th century A.D. This copper plate is at present with Mr Joshi, a pensioner, school master at Nasik (Bombay Presidency).

1289. Impression of a stone inscription in the temple of the Sun God at Jayanand in Asifabad District in the Nizam's State. This inscription is in the Deonagari characters of the 9th century A.D., the language used being Sanskrit. It records the construction of the temple by Queen Padmabati of the family of the Chalukya Kings, as well as the deeds of Vijayaditya and Sinharaj of the later Chalukyas of Kalyani in the 8th and 9th centuries. There are 22 slokas in the inscription.

1290. A copy of the aforesaid inscription taken on the spot.

1291. Impression of the first two lines of an impress inscription on stone in the temple of the Jain Goddess Padmawati on a hill at Warangal in the Nizam's State, dated the 10th century A.D. The inscription is in Telegu characters, the language used being Sanskrit.

1292. Impression of an inscription on stone in the temple of Kandeshwar at Nandgaon in Berar. This inscription, which is in Marathi, belongs to the reign of Krishnadeo Yadao of Devgiri and mentions the *lakholi* to the deity by various persons. Dated 1177 *Shaka*, *i.e.*, 1255 A.D.

1293. Impression of an inscription in the temple of Mahadeo at Winkeshwar in the Nizam's State. This inscription, which is in Marathi, belongs to the time of Ramdeo Rao Yadao of Devgiri and records the construction of a Mahadeo temple and also the grant of land at various villages in the vicinity. It mentions the name of one Hemad Pandit. Dated 1211 *Shaka*, *i.e.*, 1289 A.D.

MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

1294. Copy of a stone inscription on a Muhammadan tomb at Kalamb in Berar. The inscription is in Persian and Arabic. The tomb is not there, but the tomb-stone is lying in a field. 1508 A.D.

1295. Original *Waslat* or statement of income of *jagir* villages. The statement, which is in Modi, belongs to the period of the Imadshahi Kings of Berar, and mentions the income of *jagir* villages granted to one Kamruddin Khan in 945 *Fasli*, *i.e.*, 1535 A.D.

From the "Sharadashram", Yeotmal—*contd.*

1296. *Waslat* or statement of revenue of six villages granted in *jagir* to one Rajah Pahadsingh for maintaining an army. 1538 A.D.

1297. Original *Dharmapatra* or a deed of gift in favour of a Thakur in 949 *Fasli, i.e.*, 1545 A.D. during the time of the Nizamshahi kings of Ahmadnagar.

1298. Copy of an inscription on stone at Kalamb in Berar. This inscription which is at present in the Nagpur Museum, was found while digging at Kalamb about ten years ago. It was inscribed in the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah, King of Ahmadnagar, in 1590 A.D., and it mentions the way to villages Nachangaon and Deoli.

1299. Original *Shasanpatra* or a letter of order by one Raja Hanmant Rao of Supekar in the time of Shivaji, making some grants to the brahmins of Talgaon Dashasar in Berar. 1654 A.D.

1300. Original *Tankhebandi* or a statement of the remunerations of the Deshmukhs of Darwha in the reign of Aurangzib. 1671 A.D.

1301. Copy of a letter from the Court of Aurangzib. This letter relates to a complaint made by a Hindu against his brother who had become a Muhammadan, that the former was not getting his proper share in the *watan*, and contains orders to the effect that the Muhammadan brother should give the share to the Hindu brother, failing which, severe steps would be taken against him. 1671 A.D.

1302. Partition deed of a Deshmukhi *watan* between two brothers, one of whom was a Muhammadan by name Isurji *alias* Abdul Rasul and the other was a Hindu by name Krishnaji Rane. They belonged to the family of the Ranas of Udepur, and were Deshmukhs of Darwha in Berar. One of them turned Muhammadan for the *watan* in the reign of Aurangzib. 1673 A.D.

1303. Original *Ekharphi* or revenue statement of the pargana of Papal in Sarkar Garvel of the Subah Berar in the reign of Aurangzib in 1090 *Fasli, i.e.*, approximately 1679 A.D. This statement is in Modi.

1304. Original *Ekharphi* or revenue statement of the pargana of Darwha of Sarkar Mahur of the Subah Berar in 1095 *Fasli, i.e.*, approximately 1684 A.D. This statement is in Persian, covering nearly one hundred leaves, and each leaf bears the seal of Aurangzib.

1305. Original *Bedawa* or an award over a dispute between brothers, regarding the partition of the houses of their clients for priesthood in the Joshi *watan*. 1685 A.D.

1306. Original *sanad* issued by Subahdar Chinkilich Khan in the 44th year of the reign of Aurangzib (1702 A.D.) to a brahmin at Talegaon Dashasar in Berar. It bears autograph and also seal.

From the "Sharadashram", Yeotmal—*contd.*

1307. Impression of a Sanskrit inscription at Ritpur in Berar on a stone seat of a Jain deity, dated 1703 A.D. It mentions about the installation of the deity in a temple in the reign of Aurangzib in 1702 A.D.

1308. Original *sanad* issued by and bearing the seal of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj in the 34th year from the coronation of Shivaji (1708 A.D.).

1309. Partition deed of a Deshmukhi *watan* of Darwha Pargana, Berar, in 1709 A.D.

1310. Original *sanad* issued by Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Satara with his seal and also those of Baji Rao I and Pratinidhi. It was issued in the 49th year from the coronation of Shivaji (1723 A.D.) and bears autographs of all the ministers of the cabinet of the King of Satara.

1311. Original *sanad* issued by one Sayyad Khan Bahadur in the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1723 A.D. to a brahmin of Talegaon by name Sadawarti.

1312. Original *Abhayapatra* or a letter of assurance of Raja Kanhoji Bhonsla of Bhamb, stating that the brahmins of the village Talegaon Dashasar would not be molested by the Army of the Bhonsla. 1731 A.D.

1313. An original *sanad* issued in the reign of Emperor Ahmad Shah in 1731. It bears the seal of the Emperor.

1314. An original money bond of 1734 A.D. In those days such bonds did not bear the signature of the executants, but they were usually attested or said to have been attested by some deity or sometimes they were attested by a single witness.

1315. An original private letter of a Rani of Darwha containing an account of the crops. 1739 A.D.

1316. An original letter having reference to the battle of Udgir. It mentions the mobilisation of the army of the Nizam and also the damage caused to the town of Karanja by the army of the Subahdar of Ellichpur.

1317. Original *sanad* issued by Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-mulk to the Qazi of Darwha in 1745 A.D.

1318. Autograph letter of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao *alias* Nanasahib to a banker Abaji Govind Gadre, approving of the action of General Vithal Sheodeo Winchurkar in farming out the revenue of some parganahs for the debt incurred by the General for the maintenance of an Army. 1755 A.D.

1319. Autograph letter of Rana Janoji Bhonsla of Nagpur to one Govind Nath Gosavi of Akot. 1761 A.D. It bears the seal of the Raja.

1320. Letter of General Raje Sheoji Keshao Bahadur, regarding the repayment of the debt incurred by him on account of army expenses by farming out the land revenue of some parganas. 1761 A.D.

1321. An original *sanad* issued by Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-mulk in 1761 A.D. It bears the seal of the Emperor Shah Alam.

1322. Account sheets of expenses of the army of the Maratha General Vithal Sheodeo. Some items refers to the expenses for an attack by Raghunathrao Dadasaheb Peshwa on a Mughal Gadhi. Others refer to the expenses for the treatment of the wounded.

1323. Copy of a letter of Tukojirao Holkar, regarding the dispute of the Mahanubhavs with the seat of the Gosawis. 1781 A.D.

1324. Original deed of partition of the Joshi *watan*. 1795 A.D.

1325. Original *Khareeta* with a lac seal of Madhorao Narayan *alias* Sawai Madhorao Peshwa. It contains a letter from the Peshwa to Nizam Ali Bahadur, the Nizam of Hyderabad, confirming a grant to the Deokate family. 1796 A.D.

1326. Original *Khareeta* with the seal of Maharaja Daulatrao Sindhia, confirming a grant to the Deokate family. 1798 A.D. The seal of the *Khareeta* bears the name of the Maharaja as a Sirnaib of Wakil-i-mutalik Amir-ul-umra Pandat Pardhan Sawai Madhorao Bahadur from Shah Alam Badshah Gazi in the year 1208 *Fasli*. The *Khareeta* is addressed to the Nizam.

1327. Original *Khareeta* from Bajirao Raghunath, the last Peshwa, containing a letter to the Nizam. 1800 A.D. It bears the seal of the Peshwa.

1328. Copy of the famous *bakhar* called *Holkaranchi Thaili*, a defence of Malharrao Holkar for his leaving the battle field of Panipat before the result of the battle was known. 1800 A.D.

1329. Copy of a proclamation issued by Captain Sair in 1819 A.D. for the management of Berar. Berar was at the time under the Nizam but as it was mismanaged, the Nizam appointed European officers for the Berar districts. Captain Sair was one of them.

1330. An autograph letter of Raja Raghuji II of Nagpur. 1825 A.D. It bears the seal of the Raja.

1331. A letter from a firm at Chanda to a firm at Karanja. It mentions the movement of army of the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur and that of the British and also dwells on the possibilities of the campaign.

From the "Sharadashram", Yeotmal—*concld.*

1332. Contemporary elegy written at the death of Raghuji II of Nagpur. 1853 A.D.

1333. Concise *bakhar* or chronicle of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, from the birth of Shivaji, *i.e.*, 1627 A.D. to the death of Raghuji III, in 1854. The *bakhar* appears to have been compiled at a later date.

1334. Impressions of the seals belonging to the Qazis of Perganah Darwha in Berar. These seals range over 300 years.

1335. Original grant to a brahmin. Bears the autograph and seal of Raghoji Bhonsla of Nagpur.

1336. Manuscript written by Kashmiri ladies with pictures in water colour. About 150 years old.

1337. Manuscript of *Shaptashati* with pictures in water colour. About 200 years old.

1338. A manuscript of *Shaka* 1498, *i.e.*, 1576 A.D.

COINS.

1339. Indosasanian coins of the 12th century.

1340. Silver coin of Farrukhsiyar, Emperor of Delhi.

MGIPC--L—III-12-89—2-12-30—350.